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HISTORY OF THE JEWS;

FROM THE

CLOSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, ABOUT THE YEAR 420 B.C.E.
TILL THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE,
IN THE YEAR 70 C.E.

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

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To prove himself and his people worthy of the independence they had acquired, and to secure it against all foes, both internal and external, was a duty to which Simon devoted himself with unceasing assiduity. While, on the one hand, he added continually to his defences by strengthening the fortified places in his possession, and especially Bethzura, the importance of which long years

of warfare had attested, he at the same time despatched a strong body of troops to lay siege to Joppa, which, after a stout resistance, was compelled to surrender. By the terms of the capitulation the Syrian inhabitants were compelled to quit the town, in which Simon located a Jewish population. He also repaired the fortifications, and constructed a harbour. From that time Joppa (at present Jaffa) became and remained the principal seaport to Jerusalem, from which city it is distant about forty miles, and to all Judea; opening a trade to all the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea and to the islands, so considerable, that Strabo deems this Jewish seaport worthy of his notice. (Geogr. lib. xvi.)

As soon as this important conquest had been achieved, Simon in person led his army against Gaza, a city which had revolted after the death of Jonathan. The walls were battered by his engines until sufficient breaches were made, and the Jews were on the point of storming, when the entire population of the city, men, women, and children, appeared on the walls with their clothes rent, and prayed for mercy with such doleful cries, that Simon took pity on them, and granted them a capitulation on the same terms as Joppa, replacing the Syrian population by Jews.

The next year (142 B. C. E.) the fortress of Acra, which, for more than a quarter of a century, had been a grievous thorn in the side of the Jews, was after a close investment of two years starved into a surrender. Simon, who was anxious to get possession of a fortress impregnable to his utmost force, and to be subdued only by famine, granted a liberal capitulation as well to the Syrians as to the Jewish apostates who formed the garrison, whom he permitted to march out and leave Judea peaceably and unmolested. He himself at the head of his men, with palm-branches in their hands, and trumpets sounding, and singing psalms, marched to take possession with every demonstration of joy.

Here we meet with a singular contradiction in the original records. For Josephus relates (Antiq., lib. xiii. cap. 9, ad fin.) that Simon, who at first had intended to place a garrison of his own in Acra, and therefore ordered the fortress to be lustrated and cleansed, subsequently altered his mind, and proposed to the great council to have the fortress demolished and the hill on which it stood levelled to the ground; that this proposal met with general approbation; and that, after three years of labour, the mountain was brought to a level with the temple-mount. But the first of Maccabees (xiv. 36, 37) relates that Simon repaired such parts of the fortifications as had suffered during the siege and blockade, and that he placed a numerous body of Jewish troops in it. Subsequently, (xv. 28,) the same authority relates that, three years later, Antiochus, the brother of King Demetrius, required Simon to surrender to him the fortress of Acra, which, consequently, could not then have already been demolished. It is, however, certain that both the hill and the fortress on its summit were levelled in the manner related by Josephus; and therefore evident that he only antedated the event. Antiochus claiming this fortress was probably a sufficient hint for the Jews to destroy it, and with it the last vestige of the heavy yoke which Syro-Grecian supremacy had imposed on Jerusalem and on Judea.

Though the Jews had thus cleared their country of Syrian garrisons and of armed apostates, though they had even obtained from the legitimate king of Syria the recognition of their independence, yet Simon knew too well that this recognition had been granted only because at that time it could not be withheld; and that with the first return of prosperity the Syrian monarchs would be as ready as ever to enforce their supremacy over Judea. This return of prosperity altogether depended on the energy and abilities of the prince who should wield the sceptre of the great Seleucus Nicator.

For though Tryphon[1] might contrive to maintain himself against the profligate Demetrius, it was not because the usurper had any hold on the affections of the people, but because the Syrian soldiery had been insulted beyond the possibility of reconciliation by their legitimate king; and the people of Antioch and the western provinces hated Demetrius. But his removal from the scene of action would, as the event proved, at once open the way for the undisputed sway of his lawful successor.

The house of Seleucus was still respected in all parts of its ancient hereditary domain; and his successors still garrisoned many strong cities from Antioch to Seleucia-Babylonia. They possessed many rich treasuries, and retained claims of dominion or supremacy over many revolted provinces. The tribute of these provinces, and the great inland commerce which connected them with each other, had long centered in Syria proper; and the vast sums of money which thus flowed into the hands of the kings of Syria enabled them to hire mercenaries in Greece and other countries abounding with military adventurers, to whom the supremacy of Rome left no room for activity at home, but by whose aid the heirs of Seleucus might hope

[1] In order to counterbalance the great weight which the alliance of Simon threw into the scale of the lawful king, the usurper Tryphon sought to propitiate the senate, and sent a submissive embassy to Rome, breathing professions of unalterable fidelity, and conveying the present of a golden Victory weighing ten thousand aurei, (about forty thousand dollars in gold,) and yet more precious for the workmanship than the materials. The Romans did not reject a present which came in so auspicious a form. But in order to show their impartial contempt of both claimants, they caused the name of Antiochus VI., the supposed grandson of their ally Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, to be engraved on the statue of the goddess: and thus proclaimed their intention of not taking any part in the contest between Demetrius Nicator, whose right to the crown they had not acknowledged, and Tryphon, who possessed no other right than what treachery and murder could confer upon him.

under favourable circumstances to re-establish his empire. Such a circumstance, even now, offered itself to the libertine Demetrius.

Since the return from the East of Antiochus the Great, (204 B. C. E.,) the revolted Parthians, no longer restrained by the strong hand of the Syro-Grecian monarch, had gradually extended their sway and consolidated their power to a degree that made them supreme in Central Asia. Their fifth king, Mithridates I.—who ascended the throne the same year that Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, by his rapacity and persecution, drove nearly all Upper Asia into a state of rebellion,—during his long reign of thirty-seven years had extended his authority from the mouth of the Oxus to that of the Euphrates. The vast central province of Media, between the Caspian Sea and the Gulf of Persia, was annexed to his empire, and his armies frequently encamped on the great Assyrian plain.

These armies were formed by a mixed assemblage of Scythian and Sclavonian horsemen, slaves to their hereditary chiefs, and the number of which, with the growing prosperity of the empire, was continually augmented by purchase and propagation as well as by conquest. These slaves were trained to war and horsemanship by their masters not less carefully than their children. The chieftains or nobility vied with each other in bringing to the standard of their sovereign numerous and well-disciplined squadrons, at once their property and their pride; so that Parthian armies, amounting to fifty thousand cavalry, sometimes did not number four hundred freemen.

These squadrons and their chiefs were constantly employed in hunting parties or military expeditions, and always on horseback, even in the streets of their cities. On horseback they visited, feasted, and celebrated all their public solemnities. Besides the mounted archers who fought flying, and whose deceptive tactics destroyed many

a Roman army, they had cataphracts, or heavy cuirassiers, completely clad in steel, armed with long lances, and bearing a wondrous resemblance, in all points, to the chivalrous warriors of the Middle Ages.

But to the lofty spirit of chivalry the Parthians were strangers. Their king exercised the sternest dominion even over the proudest nobles and the bravest warriors; and whoever became the object of his declared displeasure, was subjected to immediate punishment by having his head and right hand severed from his body. Terror was the principle of government, extending from the highest to the lowest; ignorance, ferocity, and unbridled luxury were the national characteristics of the Parthians—a people who, for a length of time, rivalled the supremacy of Rome, and exercised great influence over Judea.

It has always been the curse of Asia that the dominant nation at all times disdained to live on a footing of equality with the other subjects of the same sovereign. They spurned the obligations of justice toward those whom they deemed naturally and essentially their inferiors. And when the Parthians became the great prominent power in Asia, a people who obeyed only through fear could not fail to domineer without mercy. Accordingly, this tyranny of nation over nation exerted itself with unusual violence in the thirty-fourth year of Mithridates, who was then verging to the extreme of old age, while his Parthians were in the full bloom of youthful audacity and prosperous violence.

The Greeks and Macedonians, from the contrast of manners and feelings, were the most exposed to the vexations of those tyrants, and the least calculated to endure them patiently. They communicated their grievances to each other, excited the spirit of rebellion in those Asiatic nations among whom they were scattered, and in order to give their rising the character of legality and to insure

its success, they invited their lawful king, Demetrius Nicator, to come and place himself at their head.

Tired of being cooped up in Laodicea, and eager to recover the eastern provinces of his empire, in order by their aid to crush Tryphon and the rebellion of the West, Demetrius at once accepted the invitation; and leaving his queen Cleopatra to maintain at home the war against the usurper, Demetrius hastened across the Euphrates, and assumed the command of the insurgents in Upper Asia. Several battles are said to have been gained by him, for the voluntary flights of the Parthians were construed into defeats. But the incidents related of his campaign are few and doubtful, while the issue of it is certain. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Parthians, and retained by them ten years in a loose and honourable captivity. Mithridates, in order to quell all further attempts at Greek insurrection, caused Demetrius to be exhibited in different parts of his empire. But the humanity as well as the policy of the Parthian king combined in securing to the heir of Seleucus a treatment befitting his high rank. Among the last actions of the aged Mithridates was the marriage of his fair daughter Rodoguna to Demetrius, and his order for the Syrian king to reside in Hyrcania, with every accommodation and indulgence that could console him for the loss of liberty and soothe his fallen fortunes. (Gillies, viii. 124.)

The captivity of Demetrius gave a new turn to affairs in Syria. Tryphon, as if his own power had thereby been established on a footing not to be shaken, began to throw aside the semblance of moderation which in his internal government he had hitherto deemed it needful to preserve, and to play the tyrant with open and frontless audacity. The consequence was, that the better and wealthier portion of the Syrian people—those whose firmness of character or patriotism aroused the fears of the usurper, or those whose

riches excited his cupidity, and who were equally in danger from his despotism and cruelty—now embraced the party of Cleopatra, wife to the captive prince, and daughter to Ptolemy Philopator, with whose disinterested and honest principles however, her own selfishness and corrupt conduct most strongly contrasted.

She had at an early age been married to the usurper Balas, and was the mother of Antiochus VI.—that unfortunate phantom of royalty whom Tryphon had raised and then assassinated. After a marriage of some years, her father took her away from her debauched husband, who neglected her, and bestowed her on Demetrius Nicator, who, with her hand also gained the crown of Syria, which his father Soter had lost. On the flight of her second husband from Antioch, she followed him to Seleucia-Pierea, with her two sons; and on his departure to the East, he appointed her regent in his absence.

Of a bold and masculine turn of mind, able and active, but absolutely unscrupulous, she had maintained the conflict against Tryphon with varied success; and had even drawn around her a considerable force, composed of persons discontented with the usurper's government, when the tidings reached her that her captive husband had married a daughter of the king of Parthia, and had taken up his abode in Hyrcania, without any likelihood of ever returning to her. This offended her pride, and threatened likewise to become injurious to her cause and party. Policy and revenge, therefore, combined to dictate the step to which she now at once resorted, and to which, as Josephus avers, (Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 7,) a more tender feeling on her part was no stranger.

Antiochus, the younger brother of her captive husband, and who subsequently obtained the surname of *Sidetes*, "the hunter," had been educated, as we have already stated, in the secure and respectable commonwealth of

Cnidus. As he grew up to man's estate, his spirit and liberality had rendered him highly popular in Asia Minor, Greece, and the intermediate isles. To him Cleopatra sent her emissaries, inviting him to claim the vacant throne, of which she doubted not to put him in possession, and as a preliminary step to which she offered him her hand and the regency of the kingdom. Antiochus, who received her invitation at Rhodes, entered into her views with all the eagerness of youthful ambition, and at once (141 B.C.E.) assumed the title of King of Syria. But the necessity of enlisting mercenaries, and preparing a sufficient force to attend him on his enterprise, delayed his departure for Syria upward of a whole year.

In the midst of his active preparations, he deemed it advisable to secure the alliance and support of the Jews. He therefore wrote a most friendly and obliging letter, dated "from the isles of the sea," (Rhodes, where he still was, 140 B.C.E.,) to "Simon the high-priest and ethnarch, and to the people of the Jews," announcing his intention of coming speedily to recover the dominions of his father from the usurper Tryphon, and requesting assistance against the common enemy. In return for this, he confirms all the rights and privileges granted to the Jews by former kings. These privileges he enlarged by the further concession of the right to coin their own money.

This seems to have been the only act of sovereignty which the captive king had withheld, and which was wanting to complete the sort of secondary independence that the Jews had acquired. Simon lost no time in using this important right. And during the first five years of independence, a currency in *shekels* of gold, silver, and copper was struck off, with smaller divisions in the same metals. Many of these coins are still preserved in several museums and numismatic collections, but none of Simon's of a later date than his fifth year. The long reign of his successor

has furnished no specimen of coinage to after ages; but of subsequent reigns they are numerous, and the series is regular.

These coins are distinguished from those of all other nations by the entire absence of the representation of any living thing, which Judaism condemned and deemed idolatrous. In their stead, the coins are stamped with utensils used in the service of the temple: as a cup, a vase, a cruse, or a lyre, on one side; and on the other, a vine-leaf, a palm-tree, an olive-branch, a wheat-sheaf, or other similar objects, apparently designed as emblems of the principal productions of the country. Some have the sepulchre which Simon erected at Modin, and a few have Aaron's rod. (Vide Num. xvii. 8.)

It is remarkable that the inscription on these coins is invariably in the old Hebrew or Samaritan character, and never in the Assyrian or square character in which Ezra had caused the Law of Moses to be transcribed; and those with inscriptions in the last-named character are rejected as spurious. The inscription on the one side bears *shekel*, or *half-shekel of Israel*, and on the other, "Jerusalem the Holy," or "the year 1 (2, 3, 4, or 5) of the freedom of Zion." According to the computation generally adopted, the value of the silver *shekel* was 55½ cents, and the gold one, $8.76.[2]

At the same time that Simon hastened, by the exercise of this newly-granted right, to proclaim the full independence of Judea, he also took care to secure the recognition

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[2] The numismatic cabinet attached to the Imperial Library at Paris, possesses a rich and beautiful collection of Asmonean coins. The late director of that cabinet, Mons. Lenormant, in his work, "*Numismatique des Rois Grecs*," places it beyond a doubt that, up to their final dispersion under Hadrian, the Jews continued to strike coins bearing the name of Simon the Maccabee, and which were current as well as the coinage of the Roman emperors.

of that independence by the alliance and protection of Rome. For Simon had narrowly watched affairs in Syria from the moment Demetrius marched to the East, and especially since Queen Cleopatra had bestowed herself and the kingdom on her third husband; and he came to the prudent conclusion that a young and ambitious prince, who had felt no scruple in robbing his own brother of his wife and crown, and his infant nephews of their right to the throne, would assuredly not hesitate to annul privileges so recently granted by his much-injured brother, as soon as he should feel himself strong enough so to do. Simon, therefore, sent an embassy to Rome, announcing the independence of Judea, and presenting the senate, among many other valuable gifts, with a shield of gold which weighed a thousand *minæ*, or of the value, according to the usual computation, of nearly 300,000 dollars. His presents were graciously accepted, his embassy favourably and honourably received, the independence of Judea recognised, and letters granted by the senate, according to the wish of Simon and the usual policy of Rome to protect small states against great ones, addressed to the principal kings in the East, admonishing them to respect the independence of the Jews, the friends and confederates of Rome. (1 Macc. xiv. 15.)

In the list of princes to whom these admonitions were addressed, and who were threatened with instant war by Rome if they attacked the independence of Judea, we find, among others, Ptolemy VII. of Egypt, and Demetrius II. of Syria. This last name, however, to a certain degree counteracted the effect the letter of the senate would otherwise have produced on the mind of Sidetes; for the name of the captive, addressed as rightful king of Syria, could not fail to give great offence to the brother who usurped his throne.

That young prince, attended by a considerable body of

mercenaries, had landed in Syria, (139 B.C.E.,) and been received as king and husband by Queen Cleopatra. From all parts of the Syrian monarchy those who were disgusted with the tyranny of Tryphon flocked to the standard of the Seleucidæ. Antiochus VII. had invited the Syrian veterans to return to their allegiance, promising to receive them into his service and pay; and these soldiers, who had not against him the ill feeling they harboured against his brother, readily accepted his invitation, and deserted from Tryphon. The usurper's party thus dwindled into extreme weakness, while Antiochus VII. saw himself at the head of an army of nearly 100,000 men, a force which compelled Tryphon to quit the open country and to seek refuge in Dora, a fortified town on the coast of Samaria, where he was besieged by Antiochus, who, while before this place, received the letters in favour of Simon and the Jews which the senate of Rome had addressed to the captive Demetrius, and which greatly exasperated Antiochus Sidetes against the Jews. Nor was it long before he gave proofs of his hostile feelings toward them. Simon, mindful of his duty as a friend and ally, had sent two thousand men, with a considerable supply of warlike stores and engines, to reinforce the besieging army before Dora. But Sidetes refused to receive them, sent them back in disfavour, and, with his Greek mercenaries only, assaulted and took Dora.

Tryphon escaped by sea to the neighbouring stronghold of Orthosias in Phœnicia: Antiochus besieged and soon took the place; but Tryphon once more eluded his grasp, by scattering money, it is said, in the way of the horsemen that were sent in pursuit of him. (Frontin, Stratag. lii. cap. 13.) He safely reached Apamœa in Syria, near to which city, in a castle named Secoana, he had been born and educated. On this his natal ground he either committed suicide or was put to death by his pursuers, for historians

differ in their accounts of his end. (Appian. de Reb. cap. 70; Strabo, lxvi. p. 752; Josephus, Antiq. lxiii. cap. 7.) He had reigned six years—two in the name of the boy Antiochus VI., and four in his own. The few places which at the time of his death still held out for him, hastened to open their gates to Antiochus VII. Sidetes, now the husband of Cleopatra, and undisturbed master of the kingdom.

While yet engaged before Dora, and at the same time that he had sent back the Jewish auxiliary corps with which Simon had sought to reinforce his army, King Antiochus, in order to give vent to the resentment which the letter of the Roman senate excited within him, despatched Athenobius, one of his favourites, to Jerusalem, with a threatening message to Simon. The king required the high-priest to surrender the cities of Joppa and Gazara, and the citadel of Acra at Jerusalem, which belonged to the Syrian crown. And in the event of Simon not wishing to give up possession, he was to pay the king five hundred talents (about half a million of dollars) for each of the places he retained, and five hundred talents more for the arrears of tribute from those cities and tracts beyond the limits of Judea of which the Jews had obtained possession, and on account of ravages they had committed in his dominions. This demand was skilfully framed to steer clear of any points comprehended in the treaties which were under the protection of Rome, or in the letters-patent which Antiochus himself had addressed to Simon; for the cities of Joppa and Gazara, as well as the fortress of Acra, had been taken by the Jews after the recognition of their independence; and in his own letter the king confirmed to them and to Simon their rights and immunities, but made no mention of their conquests.

Simon, without being at all daunted by this threatening message, coolly replied "That the Jews did not hold any possessions but such as had belonged to their fathers,

which they had found means to recover; that the fortresses of Joppa and Gazara he had, in self-defence, been obliged to seize upon in order to put a stop to the continual inroads of the garrisons, into Judea, and to the ravages by them committed; and that for the same reason he must still continue to occupy these two places; that for these, therefore, he was willing to pay the king one hundred talents; but as to the fortress of Acra, he could by no means think that the king had any right to demand it from him."

Historians generally have praised Simon's reply as "wise and moderate." Dr. Kitto, however, in his History of Palestine, (i. 701,) censures it as "feeble" and "indiscreet," because it referred back to the right of the strongest, and therefore to "the correlative right of Antiochus to bring the Jews back to subjection if he *could*, and if he was not restrained by the engagements into which he had entered." This, however, is an uncalled-for censure. Simon no doubt truly appreciated his own position and that of Antiochus, and that between them the right of the strongest would eventually have to decide, which it did, and that not in favour of Antiochus, as we shall presently see.

With respect to the fortress of Acra, no doubt Simon was perfectly right; for at the time King Demetrius proclaimed the independence of the Jews, and up to the time that Simon compelled Acra to surrender, that fortress was held by a garrison under the orders of Tryphon. Had it been garrisoned by Demetrians, the king would have been bound to withdraw them; for no nation can be considered as independent that has a foreign garrison in an impregnable fortress placed in the very heart of its country and capital. But as the garrison would not have obeyed the orders of King Demetrius to evacuate Acra, Simon had to subdue it by the strong hand. And when King Antiochus now laid claim to it, he plainly showed how little he intended to re-

cognise the independence of Judea or the engagements he had contracted.

As to Joppa and Gazara, which the king offered to sell for five hundred talents, and for which Simon offered only one hundred, it is impossible now to form any idea of the real value of these two places. Probably the king's estimate was as much over, as Simon's was underrated; and it is possible that the high-priest might have offered a larger sum, had Athenobius given him time so to do. But as soon as this officer had heard what Simon had to say, he did not stay to make any reply, but went off abruptly, (such being, probably, his instructions in case of non-compliance with his demand,) and returned to Antiochus, whom he still found before Dora, and to whom he communicated Simon's answer. At the same time he related in what style of grandeur the high-priest lived, the magnificence of his household, the great quantity of gold and silver vessels used at his table, and altogether gave so glowing a description of the vast wealth of Jerusalem, that he strongly excited the king's cupidity; for, as Josephus remarks, Sidetes was exceedingly covetous, and could not bear to hear of so much wealth without envy or the irresistible desire to possess it. As soon as he had taken Dora, the king turned his attention to Jerusalem, and ordered Cendebeus, whom he appointed governor of Phœnicia, to invade Judea with a portion of his army, and to enforce payment of the king's demands, while he himself, with the remainder of his forces, marched in pursuit of Tryphon.

The Syrian general, at the head of a powerful army of horse and foot, entered on his expedition, and began hostilities by taking and fortifying Cedron or Gedor, a town advantageously situated for his further operations, and in which he placed a strong garrison. He then marched toward Jamnia and Joppa, laid waste all that part of the country, and carried off many prisoners. At the first tidings

of the invasion, Jochanan, the son of Simon, who resided at Gazara as governor and commander of the Jewish forces, hastened to his father at Jerusalem. Simon, expecting that the message brought to him by Athenobius would most likely be followed by active hostilities, had assembled a considerable body of troops in readiness to meet the invader.

Josephus (Antiq. lxiii. cap. 13) tells us that the aged Simon put himself at their head and marched in person against Cendebeus. But the more truthful and reliable account in the 1st book of Maccabees, (xv. 40, et seq.) tells us that Simon, feeling himself too old and feeble to head his troops, placed them under the command of his two valiant sons, Jochanan and Judah, charging them on his blessing to follow in the footsteps of their brave uncles, and like them to do valiantly, and to stake their lives in defence of their country, its religion, and freedom. The army which he confided to these young heroes consisted of 20,000 foot, which constituted its principal strength. There was also a small body of cavalry, trustworthy from the bravery and steadiness of the men, though in point of numbers greatly inferior to the many squadrons of horse in the army of Cendebeus.

On the first evening of their march from Jerusalem, the two brothers reached Modin, the patrimonial home of the Asmonean family. There the army encamped for the night; while the two young Maccabeans visited the graves of their heroic grandfather and uncles, and prayed to the Supreme Disposer of events for help and deliverance in their hour of need. In the morning they resumed their march toward the plains, where they saw the Syrian host before them in battle array,—the dense phalanx of foot fully equal in numbers to their own, while on each flank a formidable body of horse threatened destruction to the small body of Jewish cavalry they had with them.

A rivulet, not broad but deep, divided the two armies; and when the Jews saw the enemy's army so greatly exceeding their own, and who in contempt of Jewish prowess had left the opposite bank of the rivulet open for the Jews to cross, a feeling of hesitation began to spread through their ranks, and the new levies expressed their reluctance to abandon their defensive position and to march and attack a superior force with the deep rivulet in their rear, which would greatly impede their retreat in case their attack should fail of success.

Jochanan, however, trained in the school of his heroic uncles and father, would listen to no such timid counsels; and ashamed of the backwardness of his men, he impetuously rushed into the rapid stream, crossed it by himself, and set foot on the plain in sight of the whole Syrian army. This act of heroism did not fail to produce its due effect. The Jews, animated by the gallant example of their young leader, flung themselves into the rivulet, swam through it, and took post on the plain beyond it. But their leader was not only brave; he was also skilful. He saw that the overwhelming number of the enemy's cavalry left him no hope that his own troop of horsemen could successfully resist their charge; and he therefore, after consultation with his brother and the veterans who commanded under him, resolved that instead of dividing his scanty force of cavalry to cover the flanks of his phalanx of foot, he would on the contrary place his whole body of horse in the centre and cover it by his infantry, which he drew up in two compact squares.

This unusual disposition—to which tacticians ascribe the defeat of the French in two great battles of the last century (that of Blenheim or Hochstadt in 1704, and that of Minden, 1759)—now helped to secure the victory to the Jews. Cendebeus, who for want of skill or of decision, had missed the favourable moment for using his horse

to crush the Jewish foot as they rushed across the stream and before they had time to form their squares, could not retrieve the fortune of the day. His repeated charges were repelled with great slaughter by the solid squares which confronted his horse, and on which he could not make any impression; while his own foot, composed of effeminate and unwarlike Antiochians, could offer no resistance to the charge of the small but veteran body of Jewish horse, who rode them down and cut them down in all directions, until the entire body of Syrian infantry sought refuge in flight. The Syrian horse, deserted by the foot and exhausted by unavailing efforts to break into the Jewish squares, began to lose heart; so that when the sacred trumpets sounded a general charge by all the Jewish forces, the Syrian cavalry, seized with a sudden panic, galloped off the field as fast as their blown horses could carry them, warmly pursued by the victorious Jews.

The Syrians lost several thousand men, of which the greater part were slain during the flight. Cendebeus, with the remains of his routed army, found shelter within the fortifications of Cedron, which he had erected before his inroad into Judea, and which proved too strong to be carried by a *coup de main*. Jochanan, therefore, led his victorious warriors back to the battle-field, where he had been obliged to leave his brother Judah severely wounded, and who had made himself master of the Syrian camp. The two brothers then led their troops back to Jerusalem in triumph, having repelled the invaders in a brief and glorious campaign, and without any considerable loss to their army.

The bravery and skill displayed by Jochanan had fully justified the partiality of his father, who had intrusted him with the command, in which the young hero evinced an appreciation of the military qualities of the Jewish foot-soldier worthy of the experience of a veteran warrior.

These qualities were strength of body, vigour of mind, and unflinching firmness. Severely tried yet triumphant in Jonathan's victory at Azotus, they had now again been put to the test and not found wanting.

Indeed, there can be no greater contrast than that between the Jews and their foes, the Syro-Greeks. The latter, with their bodies enervated with luxury and debauchery, and their minds prostrated by despotism, are invariably found altogether disqualified from maintaining a firm front against an attack so terrifying as a charge of horse. Whereas the Hebrew, his strength of body preserved by living according to the letter of his Law, as his strength of mind was sustained by its spirit, shrunk not from encountering the horse and its mail-clad rider, and of repelling the utmost efforts of man and beast, with the bold heart, strong arm, and the enyielding firmness of a freeman who fears God, but knows no other fear. It is true, that on several occasions of approaching conflict, the Jews frequently seem carried away by a sudden impulse, sometimes of extreme bravery, and sometimes of quite the reverse. But when once fairly engaged in battle, and under leaders such as the Maccabean brothers, no disparity of numbers daunts them, and they conquer or die for their faith and their country.

An anonymous historical book which, for want of a better designation, is called the fourth book of Maccabees, which probably was written in Aramaic, but of which a Greek as well as a Latin and an Arabic version are found, tells us that Jochanan the son of Simon received the surname of *Hyrcanus* on account of his having defeated a famous general of that name, whom he slew with his own hand in single combat. Some historians have assumed that the general spoken of was Cendebeus, who was called the Hyrcanian, probably because he was a native of that country. (Univ. Hist. x. 332.) Others will have it that Jochanan

obtained this surname at a later period, when he attended King Sidetes on his expedition into Parthia, and where, at the head of an auxiliary body of Jewish troops, Jochanan so greatly distinguished himself, especially in Hyrcania, that thenceforth he was called Hyrcanus. The Hebrew Josephus (Ben Gorion) relates (lib. iv. cap. 2) that the name Hyrcanus passed from Simon's eldest son, who died, to his second son, Jochanan. This last appears to us the most probable account; but whichever be the cause of Jochanan assuming that surname, he rendered it so illustrious that most historians designate him by no other name.

After the defeat of Cendebeus, the land of Judea experienced three years of peace, and the aged Simon devoted his time and prudence to ameliorate the internal condition of his people, while his three gallant sons—for his third, Mattathias, likewise devoted himself to the public service—watched over the protection of the frontier against foreign aggression. And now at length Judea seemed about to reap the reward of its long years of suffering and constancy, in the enjoyment of political freedom, peace, and prosperity, when the murderous hand of treason struck the aged high-priest, and endangered the national welfare to that degree that for a time, at least, it seemed as if the yoke of Syria was once more to be imposed on the wretched Jews.

Ptolemy, the son of Abobis, was descended from a family highly distinguished for its wealth and patriotism. He himself, along with his Greek name, had embraced Greek infidelity and a fondness for Grecian customs, enjoyments, and laxity of principle. This, however, he had known so well how to conceal, that on the strength of his family-respectability, he had become the successful suitor of the high-priest's daughter, and had so completely gained the confidence of the prudent Simon, that he intrusted his son-in-law Ptolemy with the important government of

Jericho, which he held some years, and in which he amassed great wealth.

As his means of indulging his Grecian propensities increased, the restraint he was forced to impose on his inclinations became more irksome, until at length it grew quite unbearable, and filled his mind with bitter hatred against his father-in-law. Ambition completed what licentiousness had begun, and Ptolemy determined, by the assassination of the high-priest and his sons, to raise himself to supreme power in Judea, and by that means to gain full freedom for the enjoyment of his Grecian luxuriousness. He soon found fitting instruments among those apostates who, by means of a mock recantation of their errors, had obtained permission to remain in the land, and some of the most needy and desperate of whom his great wealth enabled him to buy over to his views. Nor had he to wait long before an opportunity offered to carry out his execrable purpose.

Simon, notwithstanding his advanced age, deemed it his duty, at certain stated periods, to visit every part of the country in person, to examine the condition of the people and the state of the national defences. On such a journey of inspection the high-priest, attended by his two younger sons, also visited the district of Jericho, of which his son-in-law Ptolemy was governor. In honour of his father-in-law, the prince high-priest, the governor had prepared a magnificent banquet at his strong castle of *Doug* or *Dougan*, which Simon and his two sons were invited to grace with their presence, and to which, in an evil hour for themselves, they repaired, attended by a small retinue. The good high-priest embraced his grandchildren that were presented to him, and gave himself up to the pleasurable feelings called forth by this family party. But in the midst of his enjoyments, and while the mirth and feast was at its height, a band of Ptolemy's ruffians rushed into

the banquet-hall, and murdered Simon, his two sons, and their retinue, of which one man only found means to escape.

As soon as this first act of the horrid tragedy had been successfully performed, Ptolemy, without loss of time, prepared to complete his purpose, and to remove the only obstacle that might interfere with his seizing on the supreme power. Hyrcanus, the eldest son of the murdered high-priest, was at Gazara, the seat of his own government. To him, and before the tidings of the murder had been bruited beyond the walls of Dougan, Ptolemy despatched messengers. Their orders were to deliver letters from his brother-in-law to Hyrcanus, requiring an immediate reply; and while he, unsuspecting, should be reading these letters, the messengers were to stab him to the heart.

It is singular to observe in history how events and crimes, at the distance of centuries, are repeated by men who probably do not know that their foul deeds are but a plagiarism of crimes as nefarious, long since committed and buried in oblivion. In the same manner as the excellent high-priest and his two sons were murdered in the midst of a banquet at the castle of Dougan, so in the year 1634 the three generals, Terzky, Kinsky, and Illo, the confidants and associates of the great Austrian generalissimo Wallenstein, were murdered in the midst of a banquet at the castle of Eger, in Bohemia. With the same pretence of having an important letter, requiring an immediate reply, under which Ptolemy despatched the murderers to Hyrcanus at Gazara, the monk Jacques Clement approached the person of Henry III., King of France; and while the king was reading the letter, the monk stabbed him to the heart, at St. Cloud, near Paris, in the year 1589. But Hyrcanus was more fortunate than Henry III. That one man of Simon's retinue who alone found means to escape from the castle of Dougan, had hastened on the wings of

fear to Hyrcanus, and brought him tidings of the horrid massacre. When, a few short hours later, Ptolemy's messengers reached Gazara, Hyrcanus was prepared for their arrival, and caused them to be seized and at once put to death.

Not deeming himself safe at Gazara from the further attempts of Ptolemy, Hyrcanus hastened to Jerusalem, and presented himself at one of the gates of the city at the very time that Ptolemy, not doubting but his design on Hyrcanus had been successful, craved admittance for himself and a numerous gang of banditti by whom he was attended, at another gate. But news of the horrid deed had already reached Jerusalem. The citizens alarmed and exasperated, had closed their gates and manned their walls. On the arrival of Hyrcanus, the gate was thrown open, and he with his retinue were honourably received, while entrance was indignantly refused to the murderers of the noble Simon. Indeed, Ptolemy found it needful to make a rapid retreat amid the yells and execrations of the populace, who were prevented by his flight alone from rushing out and destroying him on the spot.

Thus the last of the noble band of the Maccabean brothers perished by the hand of a traitor. Neither his sacred dignity, great personal merit, eminent public services, or venerable age, nor yet the love of his people, could save him from the serpent he had nurtured in his bosom till it stung him to death. With him fell two of his sons, who only required longer life and opportunity to emulate the noble deeds of their sire, their grandsire, and their uncles. But though these young heroes were not permitted like their great kinsmen to combat and conquer for their country, they could die for her sacred cause.

A family so pre-eminently patriotic as that of Mattathias the Asmonean and his five sons, who one and all sealed their patriotism in their hearts' best blood, is seldom met with

in history. Mattathias himself fell a victim to excessive fatigue endured in the cause of God's law and of his oppressed people. The eldest of the brothers, Jochanan, fell in an engagement against the Iambrians shortly after Judah, the great Maccabee, and the third of the brothers, had closed his glorious career on the battle-field at Eleasa. The fourth brother, Eleazar, and who, according to the Midrash Hhanuka, had been the first to draw the sword against Syrian oppression, in his patriotic ardour sacrificed his life at Bethzura, in a heroic attempt to destroy Antiochus V., the invader of his country. The youngest of the brothers, Jonathan, with his two sons, had been treacherously murdered by Tryphon; and now the second and only surviving brother, Simon, with two of his sons, perished by the hands of a parricide; so that of all this illustrious family one man only, Hyrcanus, survived to follow in the footsteps of his sires. (135 B. C. E.)

The history of his preservation from the assassins sent to him by Ptolemy is the last event recorded in the first book of Maccabees. We part with regret from a work so accurate and trustworthy, which during this stirring epoch of forty years is the safest guide we can find. In the last verse of its last chapter it refers us, for the remaining life and actions of Hyrcanus, to a book of Chronicles long since lost, so that we are, for a time at least, limited to the scanty notice we find in the Talmud and Midrashim, and to the History of Josephus.

This last, however, can only be used with extreme caution. He occasionally betrays a fondness for gossip, and receives as true, popular legends frequently in contradiction to authentic history. Thus he tells us (Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 14 et 15) that Hyrcanus immediately on his arrival at Jerusalem, having been recognised by the Jewish nation as his father's successor in the dignities of high-priest and prince of Judea, put himself at the head of a numerous

army and laid siege to Ptolemy's castle of Dougan, where that murderer kept the wife and two sons of Simon in rigid confinement, after having put the high-priest to death. This last account of his is quite at variance with the first book of Maccabees, which (xvi. 16) expressly states that Simon's two sons were assassinated at the same time with their aged father, but which makes no mention whatever of Simon's wife.

Josephus further relates that during the progress of the siege, Ptolemy, becoming alarmed for his safety, caused the mother with her sons to be brought on the walls of the castle, where he had them severely scourged in the sight of Hyrcanus, and even threatened to cast them down headlong unless Hyrcanus would desist from his attacks; that the old lady observing that her son Hyrcanus was greatly affected by the cruel usage she received, and by the danger with which her life was threatened, encouraged him by signs from the wall to persist in his attacks, and to take no thought of her safety or sufferings; but that Hyrcanus, unable to bear the sight or thought of the tortures inflicted on his mother and brothers, had desisted from the assault and turned the siege into a blockade; and that eventually the sabbatic year having come, Hyrcanus was on that account obliged to raise the siege. This gave Ptolemy the opportunity to escape; and after having put his three prisoners to death, he fled to Zeno, surnamed Cotylas, (*the slayer*,) a man of congenial disposition, who had usurped the government of the city of Philadelphia, and with whom Ptolemy found a refuge.

The fourth book of Maccabees tells much the same story, and only differs in two circumstances from Josephus. The first is, that Gaza, and not Jerusalem, is there named as the place where Hyrcanus was received and Ptolemy shut out; and the second, that it was the feast of tabernacles, and not the sabbatic year, which obliged the high-

priest Hyrcanus to absent himself from his camp before Dougan Castle, in order to perform his sacred functions in the temple, and that during his temporary absence Ptolemy contrived to escape.

But though these two accounts agree in describing the siege in all its minute particulars, there is reason to assume that the whole story of this siege and of the sufferings and fortitude of Simon's wife is a legend invented in later times to augment the glory of the Asmoneans and to heighten the public detestation of Ptolemy; for not only does the authentic history of the time (the first book of Maccabees) positively declare that the sons of the aged high-priest perished at the same time as their father, but, moreover, the reason Josephus assigns for Hyrcanus raising the siege, is a fallacy, since the Sabbatic year did not carry with it the obligation to abstain from war, especially when its object was to bring a murderer to justice. As to the statement of the so-called fourth book of Maccabees, and which on the face of it is more satisfactory than Josephus, that the approaching festival of tabernacles rendered the presence of Hyrcanus indispensable at Jerusalem, we shall presently see that though the high-priest was indeed in that city during the festival, the cause of his presence there was by no means voluntary.

The sober truth of history—rejecting the pretty legends of Josephus and the fourth of Maccabees—reduces itself to relate that while Hyrcanus, having been recognised as his father's successor in the dignities of high-priest and prince, devoted himself to the raising of an army, fortifying the temple mount, and taking such measures as were necessary to secure his personal safety, Ptolemy attempted to form a party, and by means of presents and promises sought to gain over some of the leading men in Judea to espouse his cause. In this, however, he failed.

He next applied for assistance to Sidetes, and promised

to bring Judea again under the sceptre of Syria, provided he was succoured and appointed governor. But before the king of Syria could assemble his forces, Ptolemy, alarmed by the violent manifestations of popular resentment, deemed it prudent not to await the coming of the Syrian army, but fled to Zeno, tyrant of the city of Philadelphia. Thenceforth the assassin disappears from history, and it is not known where or how he ended his days. His crime was the last expiring effort of that apostasy which the love of Grecian philosophy, manners, and refinements, had rendered so popular among the Jews; but that was eventually compelled to yield to the spirit of nationality and conservatism, which are inseparable, and, however sorely beset, have in the long run always proved triumphant in the synagogue, and always must do so, if Judaism is at all to exist.

The defeat of Cendebeus had greatly exasperated King Antiochus Sidetes, but it had also given him an idea of the military strength and organization of Judea very different from that which other provinces of his empire enabled him to form. He had therefore arrived at the prudent conclusion that so long as the Jews were united, and their civil and military affairs were conducted by the experience of Simon and the valour of his sons; while, moreover, the formidable alliance with Rome lent its moral support to Judea, and might even become induced to use the sword in defence of that country,—so long indeed, as Jewish affairs continued in their actual condition, it would be the wisest plan for the king of Syria not to renew his claims on the high-priest of Jerusalem, or to enforce them by a recourse to arms.

Sidetes accordingly directed his attention to the internal administration of the extensive countries that still formed the Syrian empire, but in one great portion of which the action and authority of the royal government had been

interrupted by the usurpation of Tryphon, while another great portion had been seized upon by the Parthians. During the three years that intervened between the defeat of Cendebeus and the assassination of Simon, King Sidetes had been fully but prosperously employed in establishing his authority in every part of his empire, except the countries occupied by the Parthians; and the recovery of these valuable and extensive portions of his inheritance became the next object of his ambition. Mithridates I., King of Parthia, had died full of years and honour, and had been succeeded by his son, Phrahates II.

Against this young king Sidetes conceived the hope of levying war with better success than had been done against his predecessor. Antiochus Sidetes had an army of European Greeks at his disposal,—an advantage of which his brother, Demetrius II., had been destitute; and the unceasing vexations exercised by the Parthians would procure for him powerful auxiliaries among the nations of Upper Asia. He had therefore determined to begin his preparations for a Parthian campaign, when tidings from Judea, in rapid succession, acquainted him with the assassination of the high-priest, with the civil war between Ptolemy and Hyrcanus, and finally with the offer of Ptolemy to bring back the Jews to their former state of subjection to the Syrian empire. His council strongly urged him to take advantage of this favourable opportunity to disarm the Jews,—hollow friends, but stubborn enemies, and who, while they remained powerful and independent in his neighbourhood, must mar and render fruitless all his distant projects. The king, whose mind was taken up with his plans against the Parthians, did not at first enter into the views of his council, though eventually he yielded to the urgency of his friends, and with a powerful army marched into Judea.

The delay, however, had been fatal to the murderer Ptolemy, who, as already related, had fled from the scene of

his crimes, and disappears from history. Antiochus VII. was probably not sorry to find himself relieved from the alliance of a traitor, and from the stigma of having associated himself with a murderer, especially as the forces under his command rendered resistance in the field hopeless to Hyrcanus. The small body of men that rallied under the standard of the Maccabean were forced to retreat slowly, but without being able to make any effectual stand, while the king was driving them all the way before him to Jerusalem, the strong fortifications of which offered a shelter to Hyrcanus and his men.

Antiochus at once laid siege to the metropolis of Judea. To render his operations more effectual, he caused two deep and spacious trenches to be dug round the city, and divided his army into seven camps, so that all possibility of ingress and egress was entirely stopped. He next erected one hundred (or, as the fourth book of Maccabees has it, one hundred and thirty) towers, three stories high, on which he placed Cretan archers, to clear the walls of their defenders, while he was battering them from below. The besieged made a vigorous defence, and by their frequent sallies inflicted great loss on the besiegers.

Josephus (Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 16) relates that the Syrian army suffered greatly and for some time from the want of water, but were at length relieved by an abundant and lasting fall of rain. Hyrcanus was not so fortunate. The store of provisions in Jerusalem at the beginning of the siege had not been very large, and as no relief could be expected from without, Hyrcanus determined to rid himself of all useless mouths, by driving out of the city women, children, aged and infirm men; in short, all who could not take an active part in the defence.

Crowds of these unfortunates—whom the Syrians would not permit to pass—became pent up between the city wall and the trench of the besieging army, where they must

infallibly have been starved, had they not been received back into the city. The natural compassion which the besieged felt for their own flesh and blood was still heightened by the approach of the joyous season of the feast of tabernacles. And when Hyrcanus and his men found that the Syrians would not grant a passage to the wretched crowd expelled from the city, the besieged determined rather to suffer want themselves than to prolong their own existence by the destruction of their kindred. At the same time the defence was maintained with the utmost vigour till a day or two before the feast, when Hyrcanus sent to solicit from the king a truce for seven days, that the sanctity of the religious services might not be interrupted by bloodshed.

The temple of Jerusalem, and the invisible God who there was worshipped, were held in high veneration by the heathens; especially since the triumphs of the Maccabee, and the miserable end of Antiochus Epiphanes, Nicanor, and so many other blasphemers, had vindicated the power of that God. King Antiochus himself seems to have possessed some sense of religion; accordingly, he not only granted the truce, but sent into the city a considerable number of beasts for sacrifice, their horns ornamented with gilding, and garlands of flowers wreathed round their necks. He also sent several rich vessels of gold and silver filled with precious perfumes, and some money and other necessaries, as offerings to the temple. All these gifts Hyrcanus directed a deputation of priests thankfully to receive at one of the city gates, whence the whole was conveyed into the temple.

This commencement of friendly intercourse, and the proofs of the king's liberality and piety, the more striking because altogether unexpected, induced Hyrcanus to endeavour, if possible, to convert the temporary truce into a peace. Accordingly, he despatched an embassy to the

camp, with the ostensible object to offer the thanks of the high-priest, but with the real purpose of sounding King Antiochus's intentions respecting the all-important question of the renewal of hostilities; and, to their great joy, the Jews found the king disposed to grant them terms far more favourable than the present posture of their affairs gave them a right to expect; for the city was reduced to the last extremity, the entire stock of provisions being quite exhausted. And what rendered this state of things more dangerous, it was perfectly well known in the besieging army. Many of the king's friends strongly advised him to make use of this favourable opportunity to destroy and extirpate the Jewish nation, and traduced that people in the bitterest terms as the pests of mankind and the enemies of all other nations. But a merciful Providence, which so often during the course of their struggles had interposed in behalf of the Jews, once more vouchsafed to protect them.[3]

King Antiochus refused to give ear to the violent counsels that urged him to resume the plans of his predecessor, Epiphanes. Perhaps he wished to show to the world the difference between a legitimate monarch and a cruel usurper, for as such Antiochus IV. Epiphanes was regarded by all the descendants of Demetrius Soter. Perhaps the brave and constant defence of the besieged, and the losses he had already met with, rendered the king averse to expose himself to fresh losses when his objects might be attained by peaceful means.

But though King Antiochus VII. appears during the

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[3] So hopeless was their condition, and so remarkable their deliverance, that even a heathen writer, Diodorus Siculus, (lib. xxxiv. et apud Phot. cod. 244,) dwells on the negotiation for peace, and the easy terms the Jews obtained, as circumstances surprising, and altogether beyond what might have been expected from Sidetes, whose moderation and clemency on this occasion are recorded as unprecedented.

whole of his war against Hyrcanus to have been more occupied in his own mind with the invasion of Parthia than with that of Judea, and that so far from entering heartily into this Jewish war, he had to be urged on by the remonstrances of his council, still, finding that he was in a position to dictate the terms of peace, he was little inclined to renounce any advantage that he could gain consistent with the engagements which he himself had entered into with the late high-priest, and to which he more honourably adhered than either his father or his brother had done to theirs in their intercourse with the Jews. He therefore did not pretend to deprive Judea of that species of secondary independence which he himself had confirmed to the Jews, and which moreover had been guaranteed by, and placed under the protection of, all-powerful Rome. But with that single exception, the terms the king dictated were so onerous, that even in the extremity to which he was reduced, Hyrcanus could not bring himself to accept them.

These terms were: 1. That the Jews should deliver up all their arms. 2. That the walls of Jerusalem should be demolished. 3. That a Syrian garrison be received in Jerusalem, and that for this purpose, 4. the fortress of Acra should be restored and surrendered to the king. 5. That Hyrcanus should pay an annual tribute for the possession of Joppa, and such other places as the Jews occupied beyond the limits of Judea proper; which country, however, was to remain as it was, free from the payment of any tribute to the king of Syria, and from any obedience to the laws of the Syrian empire.

Hyrcanus declared himself ready to submit to the fifth and last article dictated by the king, without any qualification. But against the first four articles he strongly remonstrated as utterly inacceptable. The first and second, which would leave the Jews disarmed and Jerusalem dis-

mantled, would be sure to invite the active hostility of the neighbouring nationalities, to whose malice and oppressive inroads the Jews would become defenceless victims; that the third and fourth articles, the restoration of Acra and its occupation by the Syrians, would altogether destroy that Jewish independence which the king himself had granted, and which Rome had guaranteed; that to these four articles, therefore, he could by no means subscribe; that he was willing to compound for them by the payment of any sum of money in his power to raise, and by the giving of such hostages as the king should demand; but that rather than consign the entire Jewish nation to the certain destruction which he foresaw, he and the defenders of Jerusalem would bury themselves under the ruins of that devoted city.

This remonstrance produced its due effect. King Antiochus Sidetes could not expect that the fall of Jerusalem would end the Jewish war; for experience had proved that though Antiochus Epiphanes had reduced Jerusalem to the brink of ruin, the spirit of Jewish nationality had burned far more fiercely and formidably in the midst of extreme adversity than at any other time; and King Sidetes did not wish to rekindle that spirit. He was moreover greedy of money, and by nature not prone to cruelty. And as he felt that Hyrcanus's remarks were just, while his own interests would be fully secured by the terms to which the Jews were willing to submit, he consented to give up the articles so strongly objected to, and to receive in their stead a compensation in money and the hostages offered by Hyrcanus. The sum agreed upon was five hundred talents, (half a million dollars,) of which three hundred were to be paid down, and the remainder within a stipulated period. Hostages were surrendered to the king, among whom Hyrcanus's only surviving brother was one; and the breaches in the city walls were en-

larged in colourable compliance with the second article of the treaty.

Josephus and the fourth book of Maccabees tell a singular story of the means to which Hyrcanus was driven in order to raise the money necessary to be paid under the stipulations of the treaty: That his own and the public treasury being completely exhausted, the high-priest had recourse to a hidden treasure laid up by some of the ancient kings of Judea, (Josephus says in the tomb of David,) and from which he took out a sum of three thousand talents, (three millions of dollars;) and that such a measure had never been resorted to by any of his predecessors, or by any of his successors except Herod. (Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 16, et Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 2.)

Most modern historians ridicule the idea of any such supply, and argue at great length on the improbability that treasures laid by so long ago as the times of David or his immediate successors should have escaped the wants of the last kings of the house of David—some of them sufficiently unscrupulous to lay their impious hands even on the consecrated ornaments of the temple; while others, as good King Hezekiah, were driven by the pressure of adverse circumstances not only to take what remained of the consecrated vessels, but even to strip the inner walls, gates, and pillars of the holy temple of the gold with which they were covered. That, moreover, if even the kings of Judah did not lay hands on the treasures hidden by their predecessors in their tombs,—a circumstance nowhere mentioned in Scripture,—it would be next to impossible that these tombs and their rich contents should have escaped the curiosity of the Assyrian and Babylonian conquerors, or even of the Macedonians of Ptolemy or Antigonus, both highly inquisitive, and not accessible to scruples of any kind. The whole narrative is therefore rejected as an "idle story," unworthy of notice.

Now while we admit that treasures laid up by David and by Solomon were not likely to have remained untouched till the days of the Maccabees, still we do not think that the narrative of Hyrcanus, and after him Herod, having drawn, or attempted to draw, supplies from the tombs of the kings, ought to be ridiculed in the manner it has been. It doubtless preserves a popular tradition not altogether destitute of foundation. We have already stated that the temples in those days served as banks of deposit, in which merchants and capitalists, and likewise widows and orphans, placed their movable wealth, as being there more safe than in any other place. When, however, Antiochus Epiphanes plundered the temple of Jerusalem and robbed its treasury of all that it contained, and during the years of war and vicissitude that intervened between his days and those of Hyrcanus, people no longer deemed it safe to deposit money in a place which had lost its *prestige* of security, and was in fact more exposed than even their own private dwellings.

This feeling of insecurity remained with the temple, even during the prosperous but precarious administrations of Jonathan and of Simon. But as the national wealth was increasing, and some public bank or place of deposit became indispensable, we agree with the authors of the Universal History (vol. 10 p. 337, note *f.*) in assuming that it is probable the tombs of the old kings of Judah were chosen for that purpose; this choice, however, being kept as secret as possible, and known only to a few trusty men at the head of affairs; and that when Hyrcanus found himself hard pressed for money, and anxious to get rid of his Syrian invaders, he had recourse to a loan from this secret bank till better times should enable him to replace what he had borrowed.

The security of this place of deposit had probably consisted in the exposed and defenceless position of the tombs,

which prevented any one from supposing it possible that such places could be chosen as strong rooms in which to store gold and silver. But when, from the fact of Hyrcanus having obtained money out of these tombs, a fact which could not remain hidden from the people in Jerusalem, and probably not from the Syrian army, they were no longer safe as places of deposit, and as, moreover, by the peace with Syria the temple was placed beyond danger, its treasury once more became the public bank of deposit. Such it remained till Crassus, the Roman, a second time destroyed the *prestige* of its security by robbing it of two thousand talents. And as the Jews were a people of precedents, the tombs of the kings of Judah were again secretly chosen as places of deposit, until Herod obtained a knowledge of the secret, and finally attempted to rob them of their contents without any intention of repayment.

After this digression—which appears to us to have vindicated, at least in this instance, the truth of Josephus, by explaining whatever in his narrative appears marvellous and incredible—we resume the thread of the history. As soon as the peace was concluded, and its stipulations sworn to by Hyrcanus, the siege was raised, abundant supplies of provisions were from all parts of Judea carried to Jerusalem, and a friendly intercourse commenced between the city and the Syrian camp. Antiochus and his principal officers were invited to Jerusalem, and sumptuously entertained by the high-priest.

The personal acquaintance thus formed between Sidetes and Hyrcanus, both young, brave, and fond of glory, soon ripened into friendship. The king communicated his intention of invading Parthia to the prince high-priest, who not only approved of the design, but promised in person to assist his friend at the head of a considerable body of Jewish auxiliaries. A treaty of alliance, on terms of perfect equality, was concluded between the two, and faith-

fully observed by both until the death of Sidetes. Thus pleased with each other, and under mutual assurances of friendship and assistance, they separated; the king returning to Syria to commence his preparations against the Parthians on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the enterprise, while Hyrcanus availed himself of his friendly understanding with the king to repair the breaches in the walls of Jerusalem, and what other damage the city and its environs had suffered during the siege.

But not satisfied with having merely restored the fortifications of Jerusalem, Hyrcanus went a step farther in providing means of defence. He had seen with grief how weary the Jewish people had become of war, and how little alacrity they had displayed in coming forward to repel the late Syrian invasion. Hyrcanus had engaged to join Sidetes in his war against the Parthians. But he could easily foresee that since the Jews were thus reluctant to fight in defence of their own independence, they would be still more averse to join in an attack upon others. Therefore, and in order to fulfil his promise to Sidetes of assisting him with a body of auxiliaries, Hyrcanus took into his pay and introduced into Judea a body of foreign mercenaries.

This was a measure which before him no ruler of Judea had ever ventured to adopt, and which subsequently was found fraught with evil consequences to the Jewish people not less than to the family of Hyrcanus. We shall soon see how the circumstance of having at their sole and absolute disposal a standing army, independent of the national will, unscrupulous, and having no feeling in common with the people, tempted the successors of Hyrcanus to adopt the despotic mode of government so general throughout the East, but which, among the free-born and liberty-loving Jews, could not be carried out except at the price of much bloodshed, and of civil wars so fierce as to destroy alike

the welfare of the Jewish people and the existence of the Asmonean dynasty.

Antiochus Sidetes employed four years in preparations for his Parthian war before he summoned his ally, Hyrcanus, to redeem his promise and to join him with a body of Jewish auxiliaries. The Syrian army was the most numerous and the most splendidly equipped which that country had sent into the field since the brilliant days of Antiochus III., surnamed the Great. The fighting men of all arms numbered eighty thousand; and their followers of all descriptions exceeded three times that number. Historians with one accord expatiate on the bulky retinue of vice and folly by which the Syrian camp was encumbered—musicians, dancers, buffoons, and all those beautiful outcasts or alluring warblers of the female sex, to whom the general corruption of morals and of manners afforded so lucrative a harvest.

Gold and silver, resplendent tissues and costly luxuries, many of them brought from the extremities of the East and the South, enriched the tents and tables of the Syrians. The pages of Justin, (lib. xxxviii. cap. 10,) of Orosius, (lib. v. cap. 10,) of Valerius Maximus, (lib. ix. cap. 1,) and of Athenæus, (Deipin. lib. v. p. 210, et alib. passim,) exhaust their powers of language in glowing descriptions of the force, the pomp, and the folly of this the last expiring effort of Syro-Grecian greatness; and they prove to us that, notwithstanding the incessant but petty wars, rebellions, and usurpations under which that empire so long had suffered, and which had rather molested than interrupted the extensive commerce carried on through Upper Asia, the house of Seleucus was still in a condition to emulate the wonderful exertions made by Greek kingdoms and republics on other occasions, and which displayed the multiplied resources that labour, commerce, and ingenuity created and long maintained in those countries of antiquity, which at

present are among the most desolate, uncivilized, and hopelessly ruined regions on earth.

Amidst this picture of general corruption and the license of a camp, in which every vice could find unrestrained and shameless indulgence, the mind can dwell with pleasure on the purity of conduct and strictness of discipline observed by the Jewish auxiliaries. For though the Greek historians are too fully occupied by the splendid vices of their countrymen to afford time or space to a handful of Jews, and though even Josephus, the national historian, gives us but scanty particulars of this campaign, yet one circumstance that he has preserved to us, affords a convincing proof that the Jews continued rigidly to obey their law, and to carry out its precepts; and that, therefore, the vice and folly which surrounded them, and the contagion of bad example to which they were exposed, proved equally powerless against their religious principles.

In proceeding to Mesopotamia (131 B.C.E.) Sidetes pursued the northern route, and being joined by many Babylonian malecontents, he crossed the river Tigris into that district of Atyria which is watered by the Lycos and Capros, (that is, the Wolf and the Boar.) On the former of these rivers the Parthians had assembled in great force under Indates, the commander intrusted with the defence of that frontier of the Parthian empire. After two partial encounters, in both of which the Syrians had the advantage, a decisive battle was fought, in which the Parthians were routed with great loss, and a Greek trophy adorned the banks of the Lycos, on nearly the same ground on which Alexander the Great had, for the third time, defeated the Persians. Here Sidetes, at the request of Hyrcanus, the prince and high-priest of Judea, halted two days to give the Jews time to celebrate their Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, during which they would not continue their march or join in any warlike operations. (Jos. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 16.)

This circumstance proves to us, not only that the Jews, as we have already observed, strictly adhered to the precepts and practice of their religion, but also that they must have conspicuously signalized their prowess in the battle, and perhaps mainly contributed to the gaining of the king's decisive victory; for unless their claims to his consideration had been recent and of the most important kind, it is not likely that King Sidetes would have interrupted the advance of his victorious army in order to comply with their religious scruples. Nor is it probable that the leaders of the Greek mercenaries and of the Syrian national troops would otherwise have consented to a delay, at a moment when time was of the utmost value.

After this homage to Jewish principle and valour, Antiochus Sidetes resumed his march, and hastened into the great central province of Media to receive the willing submission of the people, and to enjoy the terror and flight of the foe. As the king of Syria approached the Caspian Sea, Phrahates and his Parthians fled before his victorious arms. The prince of the Jews, with his auxiliary corps, was detached into the province of Hyrcania, of which he made so rapid a conquest, that some historians will have it that his surname "Hyrcanus" was derived from his achievements in that country. Certain it is, that he and his troops were not with the main army of Sidetes during the catastrophe that befell the Syrians in their winter-quarters; and with this single exception every other event connected with the fortunes of Sidetes is enveloped in obscurity, and as uncertain as the divergence of historians can make it.

We can, however, discern that his forces were divided into numerous small parties, and were sent into cantonments throughout the vast countries which he had overrun. In their winter quarters, the commanders, and particularly a general bearing the Greek name Athenæus, indulged

themselves and their men in the utmost license of rapine and cruelty. The people of Babylonia and Media, who had welcomed the Syro-Greeks as friends and deliverers, but were now driven to exasperation, everywhere rose against the invaders, so that they were attacked on all sides at once, and with as well-timed a co-operation as if a regular combination and conspiracy had been formed against them, which indeed some historians aver to have been the case. (Diodor. Excerp. p. 603.)

Phrahates, with such troops as had accompanied his flight, no sooner heard of this revulsion in the public feeling of the Medians and Babylonians, than he returned to avail himself of the emergency. He encountered Sidetes hastening to remedy the disorders caused by the misconduct of his generals, and the Syrian king was either slain in battle, (Joseph. ubi supra,) or taken and put to death after his defeat, (Athen. lib. x. p. 439,) or died in despair by his own sword, (Appian. de Reb. Syr. cap. 68) or threw himself headlong down a precipice. (Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. x. cap. 34.) These, and a still greater variety of contradictory reports, discredit each other, while more circumstantial history, concurring with the evidence of Syrian coins, (Frœclich in Prolegom. cap. 4,) attests that Sidetes outlived his defeat by Phrahates, and was slain two years afterward in an attempt to rob the temple of Nanæa.

This obscure goddess held her seat among the defiles of Mount Zagros, and in one of those marts or stations where the portable wealth of commercial nations was deposited, and where distant caravans from both sides of the mountain met, and, under the protection of Nanæa's temple, safely and peacefully traded with each other. Sidetes, on pretence that he came to betroth her, entered the temple with a small retinue, to receive her accumulated treasures by way of dower. But the priests of Nanæa, having shut the outward gates of their consecrated enclosure, opened

concealed apertures or doors in the roof of the temple, and overwhelmed the king and his attendants as with thunderbolts from on high; then casting the lifeless and mutilated remains without the walls, thus awfully announced to the Syrians who waited his return, the disaster of the king and the terrific majesty of the goddess. Antiochus Sidetes was the third Syrian monarch who, in the space of little more than fifty years, had perished ignominiously and miserably in their attempts to rob the rich depositories of general commerce in Upper Asia.

It seemed that the circumstance which had enabled Sidetes to rally after the massacre of the greater portion of his army by the people, and his own defeat by Phrahates, King of Parthia, was a sudden inroad of Tartars or Scythian nomades. A horde of those Scythians had been invited into the service and pay of Phrahates, to aid in repelling the Syrian invasion. They came, however, too late; the invaders were already vanquished, and the Parthian monarch, in the pride of victory, refused to pay his now useless auxiliaries the price or subsidy he had promised them. Enraged at his want of faith, they at once turned their arms against him, and assisted by other hordes of their countrymen, who hastened to their support, carried ruin and devastation through a great part of the Parthian empire. During the four years their savage warfare continued, both Phrahates and his successor, Artabanus II., were defeated and slain by them. But plunder, not conquest, was the object of these Scythian robbers; and when the hurricane had spent its force, Mithridates II.—a name propitious to Parthia—on succeeding to his father Artabanus, collected the strength of his nation, and again consolidated the Parthian empire, rivalling the first Mithridates in the length and splendour of his reign. (Justin. lib. xiii. cap. 2.)

The sudden and unexpected attack which compelled

Phrahates to divert his attention from his enemies the Syrians, to his quondam auxiliaries the Scythians, and which obtained for Sidetes a short respite from destruction, proved of greater advantage to Hyrcanus. He had, with his auxiliary corps of Jews and mercenaries, taken up his winter quarters in Hyrcania. The general rising of the aggrieved populations of Upper Asia, and the consequent destruction of the Syrian invaders, had cut Hyrcanus off from all communication with Sidetes. But as the Jewish chief and his troops had maintained strict discipline, and abstained from injuring the people, the Hyrcanians had not joined in the general outbreak. And when Hyrcanus ascertained the fact of Sidetes's defeat, and that he could afford him no support, while his longer occupation of Hyrcania with his small force must end in ruin by drawing upon him a Parthian army too strong to be resisted, he consulted his own safety and that of his people, and determined on returning to Judea. His retreat met with no molestation from the Hyrcanians; and the Parthians were too fully occupied by the fierce Scythian hordes who struck at the very heart of their empire, to think of throwing obstacles in the way of a small detachment of civilized invaders, who voluntarily withdrew from the occupation of a remote province.

On his return to Jerusalem, which he and his troops reached in safety, Hyrcanus found the opportunity (130 B.C.E.) of acting in behalf of his ally Sidetes in a manner that augmented his own power and possessions, for he was not the only chief who had returned from the Parthian campaign. After the battle on the Lycos, King Phrahates had set free his brother-in-law and prisoner at large, Demetrius II. Nicator, who, after a captivity of ten years or more, was sent back into Syria to reclaim his crown and wife, and by that means to create such a diversion there as might compel his brother Sidetes to retrace his

steps and to abandon his enterprise against Parthia, which had ostensibly been undertaken to restore Nicator's liberty. When, however, the invading army had been destroyed and Sidetes defeated, Phrahates gave orders that Demetrius should immediately be brought back. But he was already beyond the reach of his pursuers, had entered Syria, and been recognised as king by a portion of the empire. Among the cities which wavered in their allegiance between the two Syrian brothers, Aleppo was one of the more considerable. Of this city Hyrcanus took possession in the name of his friend Sidetes. Subsequently, he in the same manner took Medeba, (which, however, cost him a six months' siege,) Samega, and several other places, both in Phœnicia and Arabia. And though the tidings of Sidetes's death replaced Demetrius in undisputed possession of his empire, his wife, and his children, Hyrcanus maintained possession of his new acquisitions. (Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 17.)

While the Jews of Judea thus enjoyed independence and prosperity, their brethren in Egypt had to suffer all the ill-usage and persecution that the long pent up rancour of a ruthless despot could devise. We have seen how Ptolemy VI. Philometor died of the wounds received in his victory over the usurper of Syria, Alexander Balas. During his lifetime he had to sustain frequent wars against his brother *Physcon*, the "Big-belly," whom he often vanquished and as often pardoned. At the time of his death, Philometor left behind him an infant son, by his wife and sister Cleopatra, and this son, his natural heir, ought to have succeeded to his crown. But Philometor had unfortunately carried with him into Syria the flower of the Egyptian army, whose presence in the neighbourhood of Alexandria could alone have defended the rights of that ill-fated boy against his uncle Physcon. This prince who, after disputing a great empire with his brother, had unceasingly chafed

under his defeat, determined to renew his pretensions, and to repudiate the award which had assigned to him the sovereignty over Cyrené and a part of the Isle of Cyprus. At the head of a numerous band of Cretans and other mercenaries he entered Egypt, routed the few troops that opposed his progress, made his way to Alexandria, and gained admittance into that capital. There he forcibly espoused the widow of his deceased brother, and on the very day of those abominable nuptials stabbed the only son of Philometor in the arms of his unhappy mother.

This enormity was the first of a succession of cruelties perpetrated by Physcon during a reign of twenty-nine years, the length of which appeared to his contemporaries to reproach the cowardice of his subjects. In arbitrary governments, and under the yoke of a tyrant who permits no principle of reason or of custom to interfere with his passions or caprices, the people can find their defence only in secret conspiracy or open rebellion. And tame as the Egyptians in that age are described to have been, (Polyb. lib. xl. cap. 12,) the oppression they suffered must have recoiled on their tyrant, had he not been fortunate enough to obtain, as we have already related, the assistance of an able minister in the person of Hierax, formerly the colleague of Diodotus Tryphon.

This Syro-Grecian favourite of the impostor Alexander Balas, had served his apprenticeship in the art of oppressing the people at Antioch, under the guidance of the infamous Ammonius; and Physcon, who knew the services Hierax had rendered to the usurper Balas, thought him the fittest person to support his own throne. To Hierax, therefore, he confided the chief direction of his affairs; and while the king indulged in every enormity that can disgrace human nature, his government was upheld by the vigilance and energy of an unscrupulous vizier, whose great talents were exerted to defend his master and to enrich himself.

When Physcon ascended the throne, the fixed purpose of his mind was to take ample revenge on all who, during his long conflict against Philometor, had taken part with his brother. Foremost among those stood the Jews. Their great chiefs, Onias and Dositheus, had been the pillars of Philometor's throne, and many Jews had fought for his rights. Their fidelity to their late master was the worst of crimes in the estimation of their present ruler. His whole reign, especially that portion of it which preceded his expulsion from Alexandria, was to them one of suffering. It is not known whether Onias fell a victim to his hatred; but Dositheus and some thousands of Jews in the district of Heliopolis perished under the signal vengeance he took on the adherents of his late brother.

The Jews were not the only sufferers from his rancour. Within his palace, and among the members of his own family, his cruelty and lust knew no restraint. We have already related his blood-stained marriage with his brother's widow, Cleopatra. After a lapse of years, this princess was repudiated to make room for her own daughter by her first marriage, also named Cleopatra, whose chastity Physcon corrupted, and then proclaimed her his wife and queen of Egypt. So long, however, as his abominations were confined within the walls of his royal residence, his subjects remained unconcerned. The sufferings he inflicted on the Jews were rather pleasing than otherwise to the Greeks and Egyptians. Even his open violations of those laws which protect personal security were endured without resistance by the multitude; while the higher classes in Alexandria, among whom the philosophers and men of letters are particularly specified, betook themselves to voluntary banishment, and sought a livelihood in those countries of Europe and Asia where their proficiency in literature and science were likely to be best appreciated.

Yet Physcon's brutality and cruelties had not obliterated

the remembrance that the patronage of learning formed the hereditary distinction of his family. His own attainments were considerable, and his liberality to those scientific and learned men that pleased him was boundless. He is even said to have regretted the irksome solitude to which his tyranny had reduced him, and which deprived him of the pleasure that, amid pursuits of the most contrary nature, he could derive from the acquisition of literary accomplishments. Accordingly, he spared no pains to induce the self-exiled *savans* to return to Alexandria, or to attract to that metropolis new inhabitants of a similar description.

While Physcon was thus employed in repeopling his capital, he was visited by a Roman commission of inspection, consisting of the younger Scipio, Mummius, and Metellus; all three persons of the highest dignity, and Scipio, in public estimation, the first man in his country. The king of Egypt received them with the highest respect, and entertained them with the utmost magnificence. Notwithstanding his unwieldly corpulency, he accompanied the commissioners on foot, that they might view the public buildings and ornaments of the city; a circumstance which drew from Scipio the bitter sneer—"The Egyptians have to thank us for giving their king this salutary exercise." The contrast between that king, with his bloated and ugly countenance, his short stature, his hoglike obesity, and disgusting appearance, and the stately appearance of all the Roman commissioners, and the modest dignity of Scipio in particular, did not fail to attract the notice of the Alexandrians, and even so far impressed Ptolemy himself, that, yielding to the remonstrances of the illustrious Roman, he contrived for a brief space of time to control his vile nature.

But shortly after his Roman visitors had left him he renewed his barbarities. The Alexandrians murmured,

and even threatened resistance. To disable and terrify them, Physcon caused a sudden massacre of their young men in the place of public exercise. The people, furious, now flew to arms, overpowered his mercenaries, set fire to his palace, and were in high glee at the thought of having destroyed their tyrant in the conflagration, when they learned that Physcon himself, together with his queen, the younger Cleopatra, and his son Memphites by the elder, had succeeded in escaping, and had embarked for the Isle of Cyprus, the most considerable dependency of the Egyptian empire. (130 B. C. E.)

By the voice of the Alexandrians, which was not opposed in any part of Egypt, the elder Cleopatra, the widow of Philometor, was seated on the throne of the runaway tyrant, Physcon. This was an event altogether unexpected by him, as he had calculated on one of his sons by that queen being appointed his successor; and in anticipation of such an occurrence he had carried his younger son Memphites with him on his flight to Cyprus; and the elder, whose name is unknown to history, and who, at the time of the rebellion in Alexandria, was viceroy at Cyrene, was hastily summoned to join his father. But no sooner had the ill-fated youth landed at Cyprus, than, by the order of his unnatural father, he was assassinated. (Justin. lib. xxxviii. cap. 8.)

The tidings of this horrid crime greatly exasperated the Alexandrians; and as they could not satisfy their rage on the person of the execrable Physcon, they gave vent to the detestation in which they held him by destroying his statues—an act of impotent revenge which he ascribed to the resentment of the queen-regent for the murder of her son. Assuming that the mother's heart might be most easily and painfully wrung in the person of her children, the monster-father cut off the head of his and her younger son, Memphites, a boy in his fourteenth year,

and enclosing it in a casket, had it presented to the mother on the anniversary of her birthday. (Diodor. Excerp. p. 603.) At the same time Physcon—who in his flight had succeeded in carrying off a considerable portion of his treasures—collected a great number of mercenaries, daring and ruthless like himself, and prepared to invade Egypt.

The tidings of his projected attack reached Alexandria simultaneously with his disgusting and horrid birthday present. And while the latter changed a day of public rejoicing into one of general mourning, it also decided the people with one accord to oppose his return to the utmost of their power. The Alexandrians took up arms under Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed her general. The Jews, so numerous and so ill-used by Physcon, were among the foremost, and a large but ill-disciplined and tumultuous army marched against the invaders. The forces of Physcon landed in Egypt under Hegelochus, an experienced commander, who, having provoked Marsyas to battle, routed the Alexandrians and took prisoner their general.

In this extremity the queen-regent shut herself up in Alexandria, and applied to Demetrius II. Nicator, King of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter. Him she informed of the murder of her two sons and invited to come to her relief, assuring him that the Alexandrians would receive him, and that he would easily make himself master of the whole kingdom, provided he could bring any considerable body of troops with him to Egypt.

With this proposal Demetrius very unseasonably complied; for his bad government had made him odious to the Syrians, and his marriage with Rhodoguna, in Parthia, had mortally offended his queen. Confident, however, in the strength of his mercenaries, and especially of some Greeks lately returned from his brother Sidetes's last cam-

paign, he neglected the rising sedition at home, and marched to the Egyptian frontier, taking his road through Judea, which, as if it yet were a province of his own, he traversed without consulting the government of Jerusalem; while his mercenaries lived at free quarters, and treated the inhabitants as though they had been in an enemy's country.

Arrived before Pelusium, he found that strong fortress, the key to Egypt, garrisoned by Physcon's troops and prepared for a stout defence. While he was carrying on the siege, tidings reached him that Antioch, the citizens of which had never forgotten nor forgiven his massacres, and Apamea, still infected with the leaven of Tryphon's party, had risen in open rebellion against him. Fearful lest their example might be followed throughout the whole kingdom, Demetrius raised the siege of Pelusium, and abandoned his enterprise against Physcon even with greater haste than he had entered upon it. His return to Syria led to a repetition of his outrage on Judea, and as a retreat generally causes a discipline less strict than an advance, his mercenaries committed excesses much worse than those of which they had before been guilty.

The queen-regent, abandoned by her son-in-law, and fearful that Alexandria would soon become starved into a surrender, embarked with all her treasures and sailed for Ptolemais in Syria, where her daughter, the wife of Demetrius, had long held her residence. Shortly after her departure from the metropolis of Egypt, Physcon forced the citizens into an unconditional surrender; and as if he had wished to obliterate the memory of his past cruelties by an act of singular clemency, he pardoned the captive Marsyas, a rebellious general taken at the head of his enemies. (128 B. C. E.)

The passage and return of the Syrian armies through Judea, which Hyrcanus was not in a condition to oppose,

inflicted on the Jews great suffering. But far more serious than these short-lived evils was the prospect which it unfolded of the future. The unhesitating manner in which Demetrius had marched and countermarched through Judea, fully proved that the king of Syria looked upon the independence of Judea as a nonentity, or at least as a mere formality which he himself had conceded under peculiar circumstances, and which under more favourable circumstances he might at his pleasure recall and annul. But Hyrcanus was not of a disposition to submit to so uncertain a tenure of his sovereignty; nor could the Jews reconcile themselves to give up the sweets of independence and its concomitant freedom from exactions and tributes. They and Hyrcanus resolved to resist any future encroachments on their rights, and to secure the powerful alliance of Rome in the renewed struggle against Syria, for which they prepared.

For this purpose an embassy was, shortly after the retreat of the Syrians from before Pelusium, despatched by Hyrcanus to Rome, to solicit a renewal of the treaties into which the senate had entered with his predecessors, and to complain of the little attention to its mandates that had been shown either by the deceased Antiochus or his surviving brother Demetrius. The ambassadors were received by the senate with the usual favour and with unusual honours. The fourth Maccabees, which has an account of this embassy more full and circumstantial than Josephus, mentions the presents sent by Hyrcanus, among which a large gold dish and a shield valued at fifty thousand gold pieces are the most considerable. It also relates that during the audience the Jewish ambassadors had seats assigned to them in the senate next to the presiding consul; that during their stay in Rome they were allowed the free and open exercise of their religion; and that the letter which they carried back from the senate to Hyr-

canus was addressed to him by the style and title of "King of the Jews," which thenceforth that pontiff assumed and bore; a circumstance altogether at variance with Josephus, according to whom the royal title was first assumed by Aristobulus, the son and immediate successor of Hyrcanus.

But both Josephus and the fourth Maccabees agree in relating that in the main object of their mission the ambassadors were completely successful. The senate recognised the independence of Judea to the fullest extent. The disadvantageous treaty which Sidetes had forced upon Hyrcanus was abrogated, and the Jews were declared entitled to hold Joppa, Gazara, and any other towns and districts beyond the limits of Judea which they occupied, without the payment of any tribute to the kings of Syria, who were strictly admonished not to violate the independence of Judea, by presuming to march their armies through that country without permission. This clause of the treaty served the double purpose of checking the attempts of the kings of Syria against Egypt, which were viewed with an evil eye at Rome, and to provide for the security of Hyrcanus and his government, which Rome desired to strengthen.

The senate lastly directed that the Syrians should repay to the Jews all the losses sustained by them; and at the same time appointed commissioners who were to proceed to Syria and fully enforce this last and all the other clauses of the treaty. And in order publicly to evince the friendship and esteem in which the senate held the Jewish nation, a sum of money was granted from the state treasury to defray the expenses of the ambassadors' return home, while the governors of the provinces through which they passed were charged to treat them with every honour due to their character. So successful, indeed, had this embassy proved, and so sensible was Hyrcanus of the importance

of the favours extended to his government by Rome, that he deemed it right, the year following, to despatch a second embassy, which was charged with his thanks and valuable presents to the senate. Both were graciously accepted, and another decree passed confirming all the former ones in favour of the Jews.

While Hyrcanus was thus strengthening his government by the moral support of Rome, and securing the independence of Judea and his own against the king of Syria, that monarch was involved in domestic difficulties which he possessed not the talents to overcome; and was moreover suffering under the attacks of a foreign enemy, whose hostility he had inconsiderately provoked. Demetrius II. was one of those men whom even adversity could not improve. After his restoration he fell into the same misconduct which had before caused him to lose the greater portion of his kingdom; and though there was now no Tryphon to set up another Antiochus against him, he had invited retaliation from Physcon, who with his minister Hierax and his general Hegelochus, proved more than a match for the inconsiderate and debauched king of Syria. On his return from Pelusium he marched against the rebels of Antioch and Apamea, but as the native Syrian soldiery, offended by his partiality for his Greek mercenaries, deserted his standard and joined the insurgents, he could make but little progress against them. His cruelty and pride indeed caused the rebellion continually to spread, and while the Syrians generally agreed in hurling him from the throne, the only question of debate among them was whom they should raise in his stead.

This difficulty Physcon undertook to remove. Egyptian emissaries induced the insurgents to declare in favour of a young pretender whom Physcon put forward and supported with a strong detachment of the same victorious troops that had recently triumphed over his own rebellious sub-

jects. This youth, who assumed the name of Alexander, was the son of a broker in Alexandria, but was instructed to claim his descent, through Alexander Balas, from Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, to which branch of the Seleucidæ a great number of Syrians still adhered with the warmth of compassion or the obstinacy of prejudice. This second impostor, who subsequently was nicknamed *Zebina*, "the bought one," was as successful against Demetrius II. as his pretended father Balas had been against Demetrius I. The Syrian malecontents recognised Alexander as their king. Near Damascus a decisive battle was fought between the competitors, in which the mercenaries of Demetrius were routed by the greatly superior numbers arrayed against them. He himself fled to Ptolemais, the residence of the two Cleopatras,—his wife and mother-in-law; but by their order he found the gates of the city closed against him. He had therefore to continue his flight to Tyre, where the citizens at first received him as their sovereign. But his offended and revengeful wife pursued him with unrelenting rancour. She spared no pains to exasperate the Tyrians against him. His own heartless levity and debauchery seconded and gave success to her machinations. The Tyrians rose against him; he sought refuge in the temple of Hercules, an asylum venerated by the citizens, but which in their rage they did not permit to save his life, justly forfeited to his injured subjects, but most wickedly destroyed by his wife's malice and profligate ambition. (Justin. lib. xxxix. cap. 1.)

CHAPTER X.

Wars between Zebinas and the Seleucidæ—Prosperity of Judea—THE DISPERSION—Connection between Jerusalem, the metropolis, and the various Jewish colonies—Upper Asia; Armenia; the Bagradites; Babylon—Egypt; Cyrene; Berenicia—Central Africa; Abyssinia; the Falashas—Arabia; Yemen; Medina; Benai Chaibar—Greece—Italy—Spain—Seleucus V.—Antiochus VIII. Grypus—Death of Zebinas—Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus—The rival sisters—Hyrcanus destroys the Samaritan temple—Conquers Samaria and Idumea—His feast—Dispute with the Pharisees—The three crowns—His death.—(From 126 to 107 B. C. E.)

WITH Demetrius died the last idea of Jewish dependence upon Syria. The affairs of that empire continued during several years in a state of awful confusion, owing to the violent civil war between Alexander II. and Cleopatra, who, after her hateful and universally detested husband had perished, found many adherents ready and able to support the cause of her sons, as whose guardian she claimed the regency, against the impostor whom Physcon endeavoured to set over them. With this impostor Hyrcanus entered into a close alliance. (Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 9.) For though the Jewish ruler was not for an instant imposed upon by the pretensions of "the bought one," policy and interest dictated an alliance which would prolong the distraction and weakness of Syria, and enable Hyrcanus to extend his dominions. While he is thus augmenting the power of his dynasty, we will direct our attention to the extent to which the dispersion of the Jews had spread, at the time when the parent stem in Palestine was about to resume a place among the independent kingdoms of the earth.

This dispersion, then, divides itself into two great branches—the Asiatic and the African. It is well known that when Zerubbabel, and subsequently Ezra, led colonies back from Babylon to Palestine, the number of Jews who returned bore but a small proportion to those who remained in the land of their captivity and exile. Accordingly, we have already spoken of the multitudes of Jews in the countries on the Euphrates, and beyond that river to the east and north-east, in Babylonia and Media—countries incorporated by Seleucus Nicator into his Syro-Grecian empire; and also of the numbers he located in his eastern and in his western metropolis, Seleucia and Antioch, and to whom he granted the same privileges and immunities that were enjoyed by his own nation, the Macedonians.

His example was followed by his successor Antiochus III. the Great, who when he acquired Palestine, caused numerous Jewish colonies to be planted in various parts of Asia Minor; and it appears certain that until the days of his son Epiphanes, the Jews of Western and Upper Asia were loyal and attached to the house of Seleucus. The cruel attempt of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes to destroy the religion and nationality of the Jews, became a cause of great suffering to that people through the various provinces of his empire. History is so fully occupied with the wondrous resistance and triumph of Palestine, that no Jewish writer has preserved any account of what took place beyond the immediate vicinity of the scene of the great struggle. But from a Gentile writer we learn that the Jews of Upper Asia suffered as much, but were as little disposed to submit tamely to the persecutor as their brethren in the Holy Land.

About the time that Antiochus commenced to persecute the Jews, the great king of the Parthians, Mithridates I., began to extend his sway over Media and Babylonia. He conquered Armenia, and appointed his brother Valarsaces

to be king of that country. Moses of Chorene, in his History of Armenia, (lib. ii. cap. 2, edit. Whiston,) relates that this King Valarsaces bestowed unlimited confidence and favour on a Jew named Sambat Bagrat, on whom he conferred the hereditary office of placing the crown on the brows of the king. He also granted him other dignities, and enacted that the descendants of this Sambat should thenceforth be designated and distinguished as the family of the *Bagradites*—a name and house still said to exist in Armenia, though in the course of time they were compelled to change their faith.

As to their first ancestor in Armenia, a legend of an elder Sambat is preserved, who was carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar at the first destruction of Jerusalem. This distinguished captive the king of Babylon gave to Rhasia, King of Armenia, at his special request; and in the service of this Armenian king the elder Sambat rose to high rank and distinction. This legend, however, is looked upon by competent critics as fabulous, and invented in later times in order to glorify the powerful family of the Bagradites, by tracing their lineage back to the scriptural times of Judea and the first temple. But their real history, free from the admixture of legend and embellishment, begins with the second or genuine Sambat Bagrat,[4] who at the

[4] Dr. Frankel, in his *Monatschrift* for December, 1853, (page 454,) from which we extract this notice of the Bagradites, quotes the opinion of Cassel—one of the latest and best Jewish historians of Germany—that the name *Sambat* derives from the Hebrew *Shapat*, with the interpolation of an *m*. But in opposition to this, Frankel states, after Moses of Chorene, that the name was originally *Shambai*, and became changed into *Sambat* when the family abjured the Jewish faith; and he therefore assumes that this name was a corruption of the scriptural *Simeon*, or the Shamai of later times. The meaning of the word *Bagrat* is very obscure. According to some passages in Moses of Chorene, it would seem as if this designation expressed a quality or title rather than a noun proper; but on this subject he gives no clear information. He remarks, however, (lib. ii. cap. 50,) that he

head of a number of Jews came from the Armenian province of Atropatia, and rendered Valarsaces important assistance in his wars against Antiochus and the Syro-Greeks.

It appears that a great number of Jews from various parts of Syria had sought refuge from the persecution of Epiphanes in the remote province of Atropatene, or Atropatia, on the shores of the Caspian Sea. In that province, already held by the Parthians, the cruelty of Antiochus could not reach the fugitives. But as they were exasperated at the indignities he had practised against their religion and its chief seat, the temple of Jerusalem, and also at the cruelties he had inflicted upon the Jews of Palestine and attempted against themselves, they no sooner heard of the war against Syria than they hastened from the place of refuge they had found, and not only joined the Parthians, but even placed themselves in the front of battle to combat the enemy of their religion. Thus the infatuation of Epiphanes turned into implacable enemies many thousands of Jews, whom his father had justly considered as among the most faithful and attached defenders of his throne.

The Jewish colonies in Armenia, the origin of which is thus traced to the last days of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, gradually became numerous throughout the whole kingdom, extending into the mountain ridge of the Caucasus. Some sixty years later than the period at which we have arrived

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believes the name *Bagrat* was originally *Bagadia*. This name, as Frankel assumes, is identical with the Hebrew *Pakadiah*, though no such name appears in Scripture. But as Mos. Chor. relates (lib. ii. cap. 7) that it was a designation bestowed on Sambat by the Jews, the meaning would probably be *Pakad yah*, "the Lord has visited" his people through the means of Sambat, who had obtained for them revenge on Antiochus and favour from Valarsaces. We think it more likely to be *Pakid yah*, "The officer of the Lord," as a title to designate the command which Sambat held over those who were true to the cause of the Lord against Epiphanes.

in Jewish history, when Tigranes, King of Armenia, became master of Syria, he carried many Jews from that country into his hereditary dominions, where the Jewish population by that means was greatly increased. Its chief seat was at Nisibis, the capital—a city where, as we have already related, Frankel locates those Spartans or Lacedemonians who in the days of the high-priest Onias had claimed affinity with the Jews, and whose claim had been recognised by Jonathan the Maccabee. They lived in great harmony with their Jewish fellow-citizens, whose condititon throughout Armenia appears to have been very prosperous.

In the days of Trajan they received a still further accession of numbers, by Jews whom that emperor's hatred forced to flee beyond his reach out of Persia, and who were hospitably received and had locations granted to them by the Armenian king Artases. By these means the Jews in that country augmented to such a degree, that Ritter, in his *Erdkunde*, "Geography," (vol. xi. p. 558,) quotes a notice of the fourth century in which several cities are named, where 8,000, 10,000, and even 30,000 Jewish families resided; figures which, though evidently exaggerated, nevertheless prove that the Jews must at that time have been very numerous in Armenia.

All these Jewish settlements and congregations north and north-east of Palestine, throughout the wide extent of Upper Asia, remained intimately connected with and dependent upon the mother-country by means of the temple at Jerusalem, the fixing of the Neominæ, and the annual contribution of the half shekel.

The temple of Jerusalem was the central station for all Jews, however distant their settlements, however complicated their wanderings and changes of residence. This metropolitan rank was inseparable from that hallowed spot on which a visible sign of the divine presence had been

manifested; and even when the pride of Onias had erected a rival structure in Egypt, every Jew throughout the world still repeated with the Psalmist—"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget ——."[5]

The fixing of the Neominæ was the exclusive prerogative of the Great Assembly or Sanhedrin, which had its seat in Jerusalem—a prerogative the more important as the appointment and days of celebration of all the Jewish festivals throughout the year was by that means vested in the Sanhedrin; for each of these festivals was, in the Law of Moses, directed to be kept holy on the *so manyeth* day of the month. But the first day of each month was not to be determined by computation only, but by parol evidence of at least two witnesses, who had seen the new moon and made a declaration to that effect before the Sanhedrin. It was the duty of this great council rigidly to cross-question these witnesses, and when their declaration was recognised as true, to publish the new moon to the people, first at Jerusalem, and then, by means of lighted beacons from the hill-tops, to the rest of Judea and to the whole *Gola*, "dispersion;" a word by which the Jews of Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Upper Asia were designated.

The extreme limit of these beacon-signals the Mishna (tr. Rosh. Hashnah, ii. 3) fixes at *Bet-Biltin*, one of the highest peaks of the *Defazayat* or *Brelimmah* chain, near the Euphrates. Ritter (Geography, vol. xi. 736) assumes

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[5] The English authorized version of the Bible completes the sentence by adding the words *her cunning*. (Ps. cxxxvii. 5.) Whereas in the original Hebrew the sentence is left incomplete and terminates abruptly, as if the poet, in the fervour of his agitation, had been carried along without ever perceiving that he had left something unsaid. But this very abruptness, especially where the invocation is so solemn, gives to the Hebrew a force and impressiveness of which the English rendering preserves but a faint idea.

the mountain *Abul-us* to have been the Bet-Biltin of the Mishna. Whichever of these mountain-peaks may have been that extreme limit, it is certain that it was situated not far from the Euphrates, and in a region where great numbers of Jews resided, and from whence the news were rapidly conveyed to the remotest Jewish congregations north and north-east of Judea, who thus were enabled to celebrate the festivals, as nearly as possible, simultaneously with Jerusalem, which otherwise they could not have done. It is from this arrangement that the *yom tob sheni shel goliyoth*, "the second holiday of the dispersions," dates its origin.

The tribute or tax of half a shekel, toward defraying the expense of the daily and other sacrifices and public services in the temple, had been annually paid by every Jew before the Babylonish captivity. According to tradition, it was originally levied by the Law of Moses, (Ex. xxx. 12, 13,) not only as a temporary contribution, but as a permanent tax; and as such we find it recognised by the kings and people of Judah, (2 Chron. xxiv. 6.) On the return from the Babylonish captivity, and the rebuilding of the temple, the contribution, which had been in abeyance while the temple laid in ruins, again became obligatory. But as the Jewish shekel or currency had been superseded by the Babylonian, which was as heavy again as the Jewish, and as moreover the people were very poor and could ill afford the doubling of their annual payment to the temple—which must have been the case if the contribution of half a shekel of actual currency had been insisted on—Ezra and Nehemiah decreed that the annual payment should be reduced to one-third of a shekel currency; and as the Jewish colonists who remained in Babylonia and other provinces of the vast Persian empire were desirous of proving their veneration for the temple of Jerusalem, they voluntarily took upon themselves to contribute annually

toward the support of the offerings and services the same amount that was paid for the same purpose by the residents of Judea.

The Jews are not only a law-abiding people, but also strict observers of precedent. Once introduced, these annual payments became the rule with every Jewish colony and congregation, however remote from the mother-country. It appears that in process of time, when the people could better afford it, and the influence of the *Sopherim*, (scribes or teachers) everywhere enforced the literal observance of the Law of Moses, the contribution of the half shekel was, notwithstanding the increased value of the coin, everywhere adopted; and when subsequently the Greek currency, which was even heavier than the Babylonian, became general throughout Judea, and its standard was adopted by Simon the Maccabee, the half shekel still continued to be paid; though this amount, similar in name only, was in fact more than three times as large as the tax levied by Moses.[6]

Thus their veneration for the holy temple, their dependence on the great national council at Jerusalem, and the share or portion every one of them had in the public sacrifices and services of the sacred metropolis, connected all the Jews throughout the vast *diaspora* all over Asia with the mother-country. When we come to speak of the cultivation of learning among the Jews, we shall find that though the first rank is conceded to Judea, the schools on the Euphrates gradually acquired the greatest influence. And though, at the period in Jewish history which we have now reached, no schools are specially named throughout

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[6] The learned Dr. Herzfeld, Chief Rabbi of Brunswick, in his "History of the Jewish people from the rebuilding of the second temple till the election of Simon the Maccabee," has collected much valuable information connected with monetary matters and the revenues of the temple, of which we thankfully, though briefly, avail ourselves.

Upper Asia, it nevertheless is evident from the uncommon abilities of some Jewish teachers who removed from Babylon to Jerusalem—Hillel the elder and Nahum the Median —that the science and study of the Jewish religion must have been cultivated with great success among the Jews of the *Gola*, "dispersion." Their connection with the Judeans was still further facilitated by the similarity of language—the Aramaic, of which the western dialect was spoken in Palestine, and the eastern beyond the Euphrates.

To the south-west and south of Judea the Jews were spread almost as widely and as numerously as they were in Upper Asia. We have already related how, under Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I. Soter, Jews were brought into the Egypto-Grecian empire; how they increased and multiplied until their chief seat and metropolis, Alexandria, with its immense Jewish population, magnificent synagogue, and great wealth, became the admiration of their Eastern brethren. Under the Ptolemies the Jews in Egypt rose to high honours and great power. We have already spoken of Onias and Dositheus, who held the first offices in the state during the reign of Philometor; and at a subsequent period we find the two sons of Onias at the head of the entire administration, civil and military, of Egypt. The language spoken by the Jews in that country was a dialect of the Greek; and we have already mentioned the fragments of their literature which have reached us, and which prove how successfully these Hellenists, or Egypto-Grecian Jews, in their time cultivated science and letters.

The Jews of Alexandria had their own Sanhedrin, or seventy elders; and at their head stood an officer recognised by the government. The etymology of his title or designation, *Alabarch*, is one of great difficulty to philologists; but his functions appear to have been similar to those subsequently exercised by the *Reishi Galvatha*, "chiefs of

the dispersion," in Upper Asia. The decision of the chief tribunals in Alexandria are spoken of with respect by the Talmud, (tr. *Ketuboth*, 25 B;) and there is reason to believe that the fixing of the Neominæ for the Egypto-Grecian Jews was a prerogative exercised by the Sanhedrin at Alexandria. It is certain that the communication by means of beacon-signals was not kept up with Egypt; although this may perhaps have been owing to the want of localities proper for the raising of beacons. In other respects the Jews of Alexandria kept up their connection with Judea; for, notwithstanding the temple which Onias erected and Philometor patronized, it was the time-honoured house of God at Jerusalem that held the first rank in the estimation of the Hellenists; and to its support the vast majority of them contributed the annual half-shekel, like all their brethren throughout Asia.

From Egypt proper various branches of the Jewish dispersion extended over the eastern isles and the southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The island of Cyprus, so long a dependence on the empire of the Ptolemies, contained a very great number of Jews, and so did the island of Kos. The Jewish population in the city and territory of Cyrene, on the north coast of Africa, was both numerous and powerful. Another large Jewish congregation resided at Berenicia, the site of the present city of Tripolis in Barbary, where a column of Parian marble has lately been dug up, bearing an inscription in honour of Marcus Tertius Æmilius, Roman proconsul, (about 44 B. C. E.,) by the *Archonts*, "elders," and community of Jews at Berenicia.

The attachment of all these Jewish settlements to the metropolis of Jerusalem and its temple is frequently noticed by Josephus, (Antiq. lib. xiv. passim.) A striking proof of the deep interest they took in the fortunes of Judea we still possess in the (so-called) second book

of Maccabees. This is the epitome of a history in five books by Jason, a Jew of Cyrene, who wrote for the sole purpose of perpetuating the deliverance of Judea and the glory of the Maccabean brothers. This history has perished, but the epitome has found room among the Apocryphæ, and by that means been preserved to us.

Another branch of the *diaspora* of Egyptian Jews spread over the interior of Eastern Africa, where we find its remains in the *Falashas*, a people of Jews at one time so powerful as to have acquired dominion over the great kingdom of Abyssinia; and who, though subsequently much reduced, are still in existence. There is reason to believe that the first Jewish settlers in these remote regions were refugees who had fled from persecution by Physcon in Egypt, but that these Abyssinian Jews did not keep up any intercourse or connection either with Alexandria or with Jerusalem.

Within the last couple of years much interesting intelligence respecting the Falashas and their religion has been obtained by means of Monsieur A. d'Abbatie. This gentleman, a French traveller, visited Abyssinia in 1845, and returned to that country in 1848. He had, on the occasion of his second journey, been furnished with a list of questions by the youthful but highly-gifted Philoxene Luzzato, of the *Collegia Rabbinica* in Padua, who, however, did not live to receive the full and satisfactory answers M. d'Abbatie brought back from the Falashas, and which were published at Paris in the *Univers Israelite*, April to July, 1851.

These answers place it beyond a doubt that the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews originated from Alexandria or Egypt, but that they never had, or very early renounced, connection with that country and with Judea. Among their fast-days, totally different from, and far more numerous than those observed by the Jewish nation in every part

of the world, they have none to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, nor yet that of Heliopolis in Egypt—a fact which proves that the severance of their intercourse with Jerusalem and Alexandria must have been anterior to these two events, so greatly affecting the public services of the Jewish religion, but of which the Falashas remained ignorant.

It seems, however, that these Abyssinian Jews carried their religion across the Red Sea and established it in Yemen, the south-western portion of the great Arabian peninsula known to the ancient geographers as *Arabia Felix*. The fact that a Jewish kingdom existed in those rich and fruitful regions, and that it maintained itself during several centuries, is indisputable, and confirmed by several independent historical authorities, though the time when the Jewish religion was first introduced into Yemen, and the circumstances under which it became dominant, are very uncertain, and only known by means of legends equally vague and marvellous.

In the *Kitab Aldjumen* (a Mohammedan chronicle translated from the Arabic into French by Silvestre de Saci, and published in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. 48) it is related that a prince of Yemen, named Assad, of the dynasty *Tobba*, collected a large army for the purpose of making conquests, not only within the Arabian peninsula, but also beyond its boundaries. He was an idolater, as was indeed the entire population of Arabia in those days, with the exception of a few Jews who had fled from Jerusalem at the time of the conquest by *Bokht-nasar*, (Nebuchadnezzar,) and had settled in the vicinity of Medina. In the course of his campaigns, Assad Tobba took the city of Medina, where he installed one of his sons as ruler. But after his departure with his army, the citizens rose against the young prince and slew him. The tidings of this crime soon reached the father, and so ex-

asperated him, that he sat down before rebellious Medina with the avowed determination to exterminate the inhabitants and utterly to destroy the city.

The siege proved a long one, when two Jewish sages came to Assad, and said to him, "If it be thy determination, O king, to destroy this city, thou wilt not succeed; for a prophet will arise, Mohammed by name, who, when expelled from Mecca, is to take up his abode at Medina; and this we find in our Torah—therefore it must be true." Assad inquired, "Who or what is this Torah?" to which they replied, "The book of the Law which God hath given unto Moses," and they then proceeded to acquaint him with the precepts of the book. Assad Tobba was so pleased with the doctrine he heard, that he, and with him his whole army, became converted, and embraced the religion of these sages. He then raised the siege, having granted a pardon to the guilty citizens because of the future merits of their descendants; and returned to Yemen, accompanied by his two teachers, who worked many wonders, and converted the entire population of the country to their own religion, which was that of Abraham, the *Hannefit*, orthodox faith of true believers. Assad Tobba subsequently undertook an expedition into India; and after his departure the people of Yemen renounced the religion of Abraham and embraced Judaism.

Thus far the legend: that, however, fails to tell us which of the many princes of the Tobba named Assad is the hero of the tale. Accordingly much difference of opinion prevails respecting the date of this conversion. The *Kitab Aldjumen* itself seems to place it some centuries before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, while others assume the third century of the Christian era as the probable date. It is not easy to understand what the *Kitab Aldjumen* means by the "religion of Abraham," and what is the difference between that and Judaism; nor yet to dis-

cover the motive that induced the people of Yemen to renounce this "religion of Abraham" in favour of Judaism.

The learned Dr. Frankel, in his *Monatschrift* for December, 1853, to whom we are greatly indebted on this subject of the Jewish dispersion, seeks to reconcile the difference between the two systems of faith, by assuming that the two sages who joined Assad before Medina were Sopherim—teachers of the traditional Judaism of Palestine; whereas the great bulk of the people of Yemen adhered to the non-traditional Judaism of the Abyssinian Jews, whose influence on their neighbours across the sea, the Arabs of Yemen, with whom they kept up a constant intercourse, must have been far greater than that of remote Palestine.

After the Jewish kingdom in Southern Arabia had been subverted by the Christians of Abyssinia in the fifth century of the Christian era, and the Jewish religion had almost disappeared from that portion of the peninsula, the fact that a system of Judaism different from that which prevailed in his own days had at one time been general throughout Yemen, enabled Mohammed to charge the Jews, as he does in his Koran, with having perverted the doctrines of the law, and falsified the Scriptures in which his advent and mission were announced.

In the *Hedjaz*, the north-western part of the Arabian peninsula, a considerable number of Jews were located. Like the other native tribes, they were free and independent, and had at the time of Mohammed been so many centuries in the land, that one legend assigns the building of the city of *Medina* to the Jew *Chaibar*, the progenitor of the powerful tribe *Benai Chaibar*. So important were these tribes, that when Mohammed first announced his prophetic mission, he addressed himself especially to them, and sought to obtain their support. And it was only when they rejected his advances and derided his pretensions, that he

became their bitter enemy and persecutor. Long before his times, the teachers of the *Mishna* had made rules for the observance of the Sabbath by the Arab Jewesses, who dressed and adorned their persons according to the fashion of their country, (*Mishna*, *tr.* Sabbath, vi. 6;) a proof that their numbers must have been sufficiently great to entitle them to special consideration.

Such was also the case with Cappadocia, Bythinia, and Pontus, kingdoms on the Caspian Sea, where the Jewish immigrants probably came from Armenia. Philo tells us that Jews had long been located in the isles of Greece, and also in Attica, Corinth, and the Peleponnesus. There likewise is reason to believe that both in Italy and Spain there were Jewish inhabitants in the time of Hyrcanus; and even if we exclude remote China and Hindostan, respecting which the accounts are doubtful, we arrive at the conclusion that, long before the destruction of Jerusalem, Jews were widely scattered throughout the whole of the then known civilized world.

Another fact which strikes us is the bitter feeling between Jews and Greeks that existed wherever the two nations were located together, especially in the Syrian empire and in Egypt. In these two monarchies the kings were, by descent, language, education, manners and religion, Greeks; so was likewise the principal aristocracy. Both countries were inhabited by large numbers of Greeks, the ruling nation, who not only in point of intellectual progress, but also in active enterprise, were greatly in advance of the aboriginal Syrians and Egyptians, and who, moreover, by their superior skill as artists and commercial men, contrived to amass in their own hands the greater portion of the movable wealth of the country. But in these advantages, which the men of Syrian or Egyptian origin never presumed to dispute with the Greek, he was rivalled by the Jew. To the science of the Greek, the Jew

opposed his knowledge of the One God and his biblical learning; and in the strength of his self-consciousness the Jew not only maintained a perfect equality with the Greek, but even looked down with disdain upon the narrow-minded polytheist who could not raise himself above the worship of images.

In commercial enterprise and manufacturing industry, likewise, the Jew kept abreast of the Greek; and thus materially, as well as intellectually, the two races were everywhere opposed in unceasing conflict, heightened by the difference of belief, which led the Greek to hate the Jew, and the Jew to despise the Greek. And as both Syrians and Egyptians were occasionally roused out of their lethargy to take sides with the one or the other of these more highly-gifted races, it frequently happened that the similarity of religion united Egyptians or Syrians and Greeks—who, however they might disagree in other respects, were polytheists—in fearful outbreaks against the Jews, which, when not put down by the strong hand of power, were destructive alike to person and property; so that long before the rise of Christianity or the destruction of Jerusalem, we find the fanaticism and cruelty of the Middle Ages forestalled in Antioch or Alexandria.

After this somewhat long but not unnecessary digression, we return to Judea, where, as we have already stated, Hyrcanus, the prince and high-priest, was taking advantage of the fierce struggle between the queen-regent Cleopatra and the usurper Alexander II. Zebina, which continued full five years, (126–122, B. C. E.,) and in which, though the ability displayed by the two chiefs was nearly equal, the better feeling seemed to be altogether with the usurper and impostor.

Cleopatra had proclaimed her eldest son, Seleucus V., as king; but he, a youth in his twentieth year, had scarcely borne his title twelve months, when he was assassinated

by the hand of his mother, to whom his independence of spirit had given offence. (App. de Reb. Syr. cap. 48.) He was succeeded by his younger brother, Antiochus VIII., who assumed the epithets of *Philometor*, "mother-loving," and *Epiphanes*, "illustrious," but is known in history by his nickname, *Grypus*, "hook-nose." During the first three years of his nominal reign, Grypus maintained the show of unbounded deference for the will of his mother, and co-operated with her, by intrigues rather than arms, against the common enemy. By bribes and promises Alexander's garrisons were corrupted; his officers deserted, and several cities rebelled against him, particularly the important stronghold Laodicea, at the foot of Mount Libanus.

To counteract all these machinations, Zebina, who as a ruler was both equitable and popular, evinced not only great energy and prudence, but also, and even in a higher degree, signalized his clemency in pardoning such traitors as the chance of arms at any time put into his hands. Thus, on regaining possession of Laodicea, he even spared the hostile commanders who had formerly been among his confidential friends, but had conspired to betray him. This mildness and forgiving disposition, whether natural or assumed, proved highly conducive to his interests; since many who knew him to be an impostor were nevertheless zealous in supporting his government, because they preferred the personal character of the usurper, benignant and affable, to that of the legitimate queen-regent, so haughty and cruel.

Unfortunately for Zebina, tool and usurper as he was, he was too honest for his great accomplice and abettor, Physcon. He was required to alienate those portions of the Syrian empire which in former times had belonged to Egypt, and also to do homage to Physcon for the crown of Syria. Both propositions he indignantly rejected; and

it was not long before Physcon let him feel the weight of his wrath. The king of Egypt addressed himself to his niece, the queen-regent, offering his alliance and support against the impostor Zebinas, while Tryphœna, the eldest of his three daughters, became the pledge of their league as the wife of Antiochus Grypus.

Both offers were readily accepted, and the nuptials were celebrated with due pomp. As her dower, the young queen of Syria brought with her a strong body of her father's mercenaries. Zebinas was driven to the extremity of fighting a battle in which he was entirely abandoned by his good fortune. He fled with a slender train from one city to another, and endeavoured hastily to collect such supplies of money as might insure him a comfortable retreat in Greece. In that country, which under the supremacy of Rome enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity, he purposed to lead a life of philosophy and happiness, bidding forever adieu to the treacherous pursuits of ambition.

But to carry out this design, he was tempted to lay hands on the rich treasures deposited in the temple of Jupiter at Antioch. The priests resisted, and raised the cry of sacrilege. A tumult ensued. Alexander Zebinas, alarmed at the fury of the populace, fled precipitately from the city, and to escape his pursuers betook himself to unfrequented paths, among which he was taken by a band of robbers. By them he was recognised, and as he feared they might sell him to Cleopatra, he took poison, after having for nearly six years filled the throne of the Seleucidæ with credit to himself and advantage to the people.

The destruction of this rival infused new boldness into Grypus, and he determined to burst the leading-strings in which his mother so long had kept him. But the queen-regent had given more than one proof that she loved power, and would scruple at no crime to preserve it. This wife

of many husbands had four sons. The eldest, by Alexander Balas, had been murdered by Tryphon. By her second husband, Demetrius II. Nicator, she had two sons, of whom the first-born, Seleucus, had already perished a victim to her lust of power; and as the second, Antiochus, seemed determined to be king in fact as well as in name, she resolved to remove him likewise; for she had yet a fourth son, the fruit of her marriage with Antiochus VII. Sidetes; and who having been educated in the republic of *Cyzicus*, in the Propontis, is distinguished in history by the epithet *Cyzicenus*, joined to the hereditary name of Antiochus.

As he was several years younger than his half-brother Grypus, the queen-regent was certain to find in him greater submission to her will than Grypus seemed willing any longer to evince. To place this, her youngest son, on the throne, became the great object of her ambition; and as she did not hesitate with respect to the means, she tendered Grypus a poisoned cup as he returned warm from exercise. But apprized of her treachery, her son begged leave to pledge her; and when she refused to drink, produced the evidences of her guilt and forced her to swallow the mortal draught, (121 B. C. E.) Thus perished Cleopatra, wife to three kings; the mother, also, of three kings who reigned in her lifetime, and of a fourth, who mounted the throne of Antioch eight years after her death. (Appian. de Reb. Syriac. cap. 68.)

Although Hyrcanus had been closely allied with Alexander Zebinas, had profited greatly by that alliance, and had a great interest in the continuance of the intestine wars of Syria, he had not been able to afford his ally any assistance against the unexpected attack made upon him by Physcon's mercenaries. And though on the other hand, Grypus professed to be very indignant at the alliance between Hyrcanus and Zebinas, and loudly threat-

ened to punish the high-priest for his insidious policy, his wrath was satisfied with finding vent in words. The military organization of Judea was too perfect, the vicinity of the Romans too threatening, to leave any reasonable hopes of success to the king of Syria, contracted as the limits of that monarchy now were by the conquests of the Parthians and the defection of many tribes and provinces, the chiefs of which declared and maintained their independence. The two rivals, Hyrcanus and Grypus, therefore kept watching each other, neither of them willing to be the first to commence hostilities; for which, indeed, after the last arrangement of the affairs of Judea and the treaty with Rome, no plausible pretext existed.

This state of things continued eight years, during which Grypus reigned without a rival, and both Judea and Syria enjoyed profound peace. While Hyrcanus employed himself in augmenting the welfare and resources of Judea, Grypus devoted this cessation of foreign wars and domestic sedition to the enjoyment of pleasure, and only distinguished himself by the luxury of his entertainments and the splendour of his festivals. The games which he celebrated at Daphne, the Olympia of Syria, rivalled those exhibited half a century before his time by the great persecutor of the Jews, Antiochus IV., whose boastful surname, *Epiphanes*, "the illustrious," was also adopted by Grypus. But while he thus dissipated in riotous luxury the wealth and strength of his kingdom, his dream of peace and pleasure was suddenly disturbed by a vicissitude of his fortunes as unexpected as it was complete.

Cyzicenus, the half-brother of Grypus, advanced into manhood, and became an object of jealousy and of persecution to the king of Syria. The dangers that continually beset the person of the young prince seemed to leave him no alternative between a crown and a grave. We know not what resources he might derive from his father, A.

Sidetes. But that unfortunate prince, the last of the Seleucidæ who evinced any love for glory, had left many partisans in Syria; and the posture of affairs in Egypt at this particular juncture tended greatly to strengthen their number.

Ptolemy Physcon had reigned twenty-nine years in Egypt without exhausting the patience of his subjects either by his cruelty or by his profligacy. He died unmolested in his bed, bequeathing the kingdom of Cyrene to his natural son, Ptolemy *Apion*, "the slender," a nickname directly the reverse of that imposed on his *bloated* father. To his queen, the younger Cleopatra, Physcon left the kingdom of Egypt, directing, however, that she should choose one of her two sons, Lathyrus and Alexander, as her associate in the government. The queen had as little maternal feelings as her ruthless sister, the late murdering and murdered queen-regent of Syria. Ambition caused her to prefer the younger of her sons as her partner in power; and to prevent any opposition on the part of Lathyrus, she had contrived to send this prince, shortly before his father's death, as viceroy to Cyprus, an employment which he considered only as an honourable banishment.

But the Egyptians, and particularly the citizens of Alexandria, espoused the interests of Lathyrus, and loudly demanded that notwithstanding the capricious directions of Physcon, and the unjust preference of Cleopatra, the legitimate heir to their monarchy should be called to govern them. Cleopatra yielded reluctantly to the voice of the people; but before consenting to the coronation of Lathyrus, she insisted on his repudiating his present wife and marrying her younger sister. Of these successive wives of Lathyrus, both daughters of his mother Cleopatra, the elder is only known by that appellation so general among the females of the blood-royal in Egypt; the younger was

named Selene, a princess of singular address and spirit, and probably on that account selected by the queen-mother, to whom she was totally devoted, as the fittest instrument for governing the mind of her husband.

With this queen-mother the Jews established in Egypt had long been peculiar favourites. She, the daughter of the wise and generally admired king Philometor, had from her infancy been accustomed to see Jews holding the highest offices at the court of her father. She also knew that the rancorous spirit with which her husband treated his Jewish subjects had been called forth and fed by the fidelity with which they had served her father. And as she was equally well acquainted with the character of her father and of her husband, she did not hesitate as to the policy she meant to follow. No sooner had she by the death of Physcon been raised to the supreme direction of affairs, than she summoned to her court Chelkias and Ananias, the sons of her father's faithful friend and devoted servant, Onias, the high-priest, who even after Philometor's death had fought for his son.

These two brothers, the heirs of their father's bravery and abilities, became her principal favourites and councillors. She placed them at the head of her armies, and intrusted to them the entire government of Egypt, in its foreign as well as internal affairs. They immediately turned their attention to the East and to the relations subsisting between Judea and Syria, which though for the moment peaceable, were any thing but satisfactory; since Grypus took no pains to conceal his intention, some time or other, to punish Hyrcanus for his alliance with Zebinas.

Chelkias and Ananias represented to the queen-mother that the Judeans, so often oppressed by the kings of Syria, were in danger of a new invasion on the part of Antiochus Grypus; that it was not consistent with the interests of Egypt or the will of Rome that the king of Syria should

regain possession of Judea; that, to prevent his disturbing his neighbours, it would be wisest to find him employment at home; and that therefore it was necessary to abet the cause of Cyzicenus. The queen-mother entered into their views. The more strongly to cement the alliance with her new protegé, the divorced Cleopatra was offered to him in marriage; and that unhappy princess, the victim of her mother's selfish policy, was sent into Syria to become the bride of the young aspirant for the crown, with a body of troops from Cyprus for her dowry.

Among the first incidents in the warfare between the two brothers which followed her arrival, and which is very imperfectly related, Cyzicenus obtained possession of the city of Antioch. Here, however, he could not long maintain himself. Being defeated in battle, he left his newly-married wife Cleopatra in that city as a place of safety, while he himself kept the open country in order to rally and recruit his broken forces.

During his absence, Grypus assaulted and recovered Antioch. Tryphœna, his queen, attended her husband in this expedition. The eldest daughter of Physcon, and the heiress of his ferocious temper and ruthless disposition, Tryphœna had now at her mercy an aspiring sister, who in marrying a pretender to her husband's throne had presumed to become her rival. In the rage of wounded pride, she thirsted for Cleopatra's blood; and when Grypus strongly opposed her cruel design, she taunted him with the remark that his expressions were much too warm and ardent to be dictated by *cold* compassion only; and she now imperiously demanded, and obtained, that her rival in love, as well as in power, should be surrendered to her vengeance.

Her inhuman orders were inhumanly executed. Cleopatra had fled into the most venerated sanctuary of Antioch. Thither she was pursued by the emissaries of her brutal sister; and as she clasped the divinity of the place,

and clung to the image with all the tenacity of a death-grasp, her arms were hacked in pieces by the executioners. The mangled princess expired in imprecations for vengeance against profaned religion and parricidal murder. Her prayer was heard, for shortly afterward Cyzicenus gained a decisive victory. Tryphœna was taken in the rout, and sacrificed to the *manes* of Cleopatra. Grypus retreated to Aspendus in Pamphylia; while his victorious rival, under the title of Antiochus IX. Philopator, established his authority over the greater part of Syria.

But his success only served to make manifest the utter worthlessness of his character. Equally careless of the affairs of war and government, the new king indulged in the lowest debaucheries and delighted in the basest society. (Diodorus, Excerpt. p. 606.) The people disgusted, again turned to Grypus, whose luxuries and extravagance appeared right royal, when contrasted with the equally costly and far more disgraceful propensities of his victor.

Advised of this revulsion in his favour of the popular feeling, Grypus in less than twelve months returned from Pamphylia at the head of an army, which the proper application of the treasures carried with him rendered both numerous and formidable. Such, at least, it appeared to Cyzicenus, who, conscious of the general aversion in which he was held, attempted no resistance, but at once abandoned to his rival the metropolis Antioch and the principal portion of the kingdom, while he himself retreated into Cœle-Syria. Thither his rival hesitated to follow him. Alive to the difficulty of penetrating into this intricate mountain region, and fearful that even a slight reverse might ruin his affairs with a people so fickle as the Antiochians, Grypus preferred listening to a compromise which Cyzicenus proposed, and which resulted in a treaty of partition between the rival brothers. Grypus retained the greater or Upper Syria, with the metropolis Antioch,

while Cyzicenus remained in possession of Cœle-Syria, and chose for his seat of government the city of Damascus, two hundred miles from the residence of his brother.

The vast empire of Seleucus Nicator had thus gradually dwindled down into a single kingdom, divided between two ill-reconciled brothers; and even their respective shares had to suffer great defalcations. In the northern part of the country a small independent kingdom sprung up in Commagene, the district contiguous to the Euphrates. On the sea-coast, the cities of Tyre and Sidon resumed their ancient liberty; and in the south, the Jews, under the able and experienced Hyrcanus, proved formidable enemies to the new kingdom of Damascus.

As a fruit of his alliance with Zebinas, Hyrcanus had been able to take Shechem, where the Samaritans, so long the bitter enemies and rivals of the Jews, had taken up their residence after they had been expelled from Samaria by Alexander the Great, as we have already related. Along with Shechem, Mount Gerizim and its temple fell into the power of Hyrcanus, who caused it to be razed to the ground, two hundred years after it had been built by Sanballat. According to the fourth of Maccabees, Hyrcanus put several of the Samaritan priests to death, and destroyed the edifices, altars, and monuments that had been built on the mountain in days of old by Jezebel, the queen of Ahab, King of Israel. These two last-named circumstances, however, Josephus does not relate, nor do they appear very credible. The Samaritans, notwithstanding the destruction of their temple, continued to prefer Mount Gerizim as more holy than Jerusalem. They erected an altar on the mount, where their descendants continue to this day to offer sacrifices, and to cherish the implacable hatred against the Jews which had characterized the Samaritan people in its day of prosperity.

From Shechem Hyrcanus had turned his arms south-

ward, and conquered Idumea. And as that was a portion of the ancient heritage of Israel promised by the Lord to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and which Hyrcanus deemed it his sacred duty to reunite with Judea, he left the Idumeans the choice either to become circumcised and to embrace the religion of the Jews, or to quit the country. But the mixture of various Arab and other tribes that inhabited Idumea, preferred their country to their old idolatry. They therefore embraced Judaism, and their descendants having gradually become entitled to enter the congregation of Israel, they became completely incorporated with the Jewish people. These easy but important conquests achieved, Hyrcanus returned to Jerusalem.

During the remainder of the long struggle between the sons of Demetrius and the impostor Zebinas, and subsequently between Grypus and Cyzicenus, the prince-high-priest of Jerusalem took no active part in the affairs of Syria. Directing his eminent abilities to the internal administration of his country, he had succeeded in rendering Judea more powerful, more wealthy, more populous, and more generally prosperous than it had been at any time since the days of King Solomon. Jerusalem was by his care not only embellished, but strongly fortified; and in immediate connection with the temple he built the strong and splendid castle of Baris, in which his successors took up their residence, and where the valuable garments of the high-priest were preserved.

He kept a considerable number of foreign mercenaries; but the strict discipline he enforced, and the unfeigned respect for the precepts of the Law and the rights of the people which on all occasions he evinced, rendered this foreign soldiery harmless and inoffensive to the people. At length an opportunity offered for again rendering the services of these mercenaries useful, and to extend the boundaries of Judea.

The Greek colony in Samaria, instigated probably by the discontented inhabitants of Shechem, commenced hostilities against the people of Maressa, between whom and the Jews a league existed for mutual defence. Hyrcanus embraced the cause of his allies, turned his arms against Samaria, and laid siege to the city. Attended by his two eldest sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, at the head of a powerful army and amply provided with engines of siege, Hyrcanus sat down before the doomed city, which he encompassed with a wall and deep ditch or trench, eighty furlongs, or four thousand paces, in circuit. By these means he cut off the possibility of the city receiving farther supplies, and reduced the inhabitants to such extremities, that they were compelled to feed on cats, dogs, and any kind of carrion they could obtain.

As, in the partition between the brothers, Samaria and Galilee had fallen to the share of A. Cyzicenus, the Samaritans in their extreme distress found means to make their condition known to that monarch, and to call upon him for speedy succour. This he was the more ready to grant, as he looked upon this Greek colony of Samaria as the firmest bulwark of the possessions still remaining to his house in Palestine. Accordingly he raised a considerable army, and with hasty march advanced to the relief of the besieged city.

Hyrcanus had been obliged to return to Jerusalem, where, as high-priest, he had to be present and in person to conduct the expiatory services on the great Day of Atonement, (Lev xvi. passim.) But he had left his two sons with the army before Samaria; and when the tidings reached them that King Antiochus and his army were marching against them, the two young Maccabeans determined that they would not raise the siege, as that would enable the besieged to receive fresh supplies; that therefore Antigonus, the younger of the two brothers, was to

remain with one portion of the Jewish army before Samaria, while the elder, Aristobulus, with the other and larger portion of the troops under his command, went forth to meet the king.

This plan proved eminently successful. Aristobulus encountered and defeated the Syrians with great slaughter, pursuing them as far as Scythopolis, while Cyzicenus himself escaped with great difficulty. After this brilliant victory, Aristobulus rejoined his brother before Samaria, and the two young heroes pressed the siege with such renewed vigour, that the Samaritans were compelled once more to apply for help to Cyzicenus. But his forces had been broken by his defeat; and as he did not venture to call in his brother Grypus, his only remaining resource was to solicit assistance from his ally and brother-in-law Lathyrus, then reigning in Egypt conjointly with his mother. Without consulting with that princess, or even letting her know of his intention, the young king of Egypt sent a reinforcement of six thousand men to join Cyzicenus. But as this force was too small to produce any impression on the Jews, the king of Damascus did not risk a second battle; nor did he indeed like once more to endanger his own person by exposing it to the horrors of a Jewish attack. Cyzicenus retired to Tripolis in Syria, leaving his Egyptian auxiliaries under the command of Callimander and Epicrates, with orders to attempt a diversion, so as to relieve Samaria by such an inroad into Judea, as should induce the Jews to raise the siege of that city in order to defend and protect their own homes.

But the undertaking proved abortive. Of the two lieutenants, Callimander was defeated and slain, and Epicrates went over to the winning side. Through the treachery of this mercenary, Scythopolis and several other strongholds fell into the hands of Hyrcanus. At length the city of Samaria likewise, after a year's siege, was compelled

to surrender at discretion, and was totally demolished. Hyrcanus thus obtained possession of the territories of Samaria and Galilee, so that his dominion now extended over the greater portion of the promised land west of the river Jordan; and he bequeathed it as a maxim of state policy to his sons and descendants to endeavour, by all means, to recover the cities and districts which had formed the inheritance of the twelve tribes, and to extend the boundaries of Judea until they should comprise all the ancient land of Israel, including the two-and-a-half tribes East of the river Jordan. West of that river, and along the shores of the Mediterranean, several trading cities, chiefly inhabited by Syro-Greeks, had erected themselves into independent republics, among which the city of Ptolemais deserves particular mention.

Few sovereigns had been more uniformly successful and prosperous than Hyrcanus. During his long and active administration he had not only extended his dominions by important acquisitions, but had also consolidated them into one firm body politic. The advantages he gained in war he knew how to augment and render productive in peace. His foreign alliances had been wisely contracted, and added to the security of his country and to his personal glory. Commerce, agriculture, and the handicrafts that are carried on in cities were cultivated under his auspices with great success, while the sums of money he accumulated in his treasuries, without burdening the people, are described as immense. His administration was not less remarkable for its piety than for its wisdom; for his attention to his spiritual duties than for his prudence in his temporal affairs.

At no time since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity had the Jewish religion or commonwealth commanded so high a degree of universal regard as under Hyrcanus. But that which raised his glory above all his

predecessors and all his successors was—at least if we believe Josephus (Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 3) and the fourth Maccabees (cap. vii.)—that he enjoyed three dignities that never before, or after him, have met in one person: royalty, the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. Of the last, Josephus and the fourth Maccabees relate several instances, of which we will only repeat two. On the day the battle was fought between his son Aristobulus and King Cyzicenus, Hyrcanus was offering incense in the most holy place, when he suddenly heard a voice which told him that his son had gained a great victory; tidings which he communicated to the people directly the service was finished, and which messengers despatched by Aristobulus, and who reached Jerusalem two or three days after the battle, fully confirmed. He also, shortly before his death, foretold that the reign of his two elder sons would be but short, and that his third son, Alexander, was destined to be his successor.

But though, during so many years, his administration had been successful and his private life prosperous, he was fated in the last year of his reign to experience the truth of Solon's axiom, "That no one can be called happy until after he is dead." The sects which had risen among the Jews, and of which we shall presently have to speak more fully, imbittered his last days, and drove him shortly before his death to discard those who, till then, had been his most faithful friends and advisers; and to close his eyes in the midst of others, whose opinions had long been hateful to him, and who, in the last agony of the parting spirit, robbed him of the hopes of a blissful future state.

Hyrcanus, like his father and all his uncles of the house of Asmoneus, had been zealous for the law and for the traditions, according to the views of the *Hassidim*, or "the pious." And when these views became triumphant after the long conflict with Grecianizing apostasy; and

when the tenets they embodied were embraced by the great mass of the people, under the teachings of the *Pharisees*, Hyrcanus, from conviction, had proved one of their firmest adherents and supporters. Pharisees held the first rank in his sacerdotal synod as in his cabinet council; they stood highest in his favour; and as they likewise stood highest in the estimation of the people, they made Hyrcanus an ample return for his favours in the degree of popularity which his intimacy with them gained for him. One would have thought that Hyrcanus and his fast friends, the Pharisees, united as they were by identity of feelings, opinions, and interests, could not by any possibility fall out or become enemies. Yet they did; and all the more bitterly because they had been such devoted friends. The occasion was the following:

After the capture and destruction of Samaria, and the return of his two victorious sons, Hyrcanus gave a banquet to which he invited all the "Sages of Israel," as the chiefs of the Pharisee party were styled. When the mirth and rejoicing had reached its height, Hyrcanus—probably to indulge an innocent vanity, but which, like all vanity, showed more of folly than of wisdom—rose, and, appealing to his guests, inquired, Whether they had ever seen or known him do any thing improper or unlawful? And he invited them to acquaint him with any failure of his duty toward God or man, that might have come to their knowledge. As might be expected, he got from his guests all the praise for which he so obviously laid himself open. All replied that they had never known or seen him transgress the Law in any one respect. The room rung with testimonials of his blameless conduct; and his many virtues were praised in so earnest and emphatic a manner that he became highly delighted.

When this had ceased, one of the guests, named Eleazar, an austere man, but much respected by the people, and

who had not joined in the general acclamation, turned to Hyrcanus and ventured to say that he ought to resign the high-priesthood, and content himself with the civil administration and government of the nation. This called forth Hyrcanus' indignation in a degree commensurate with the delight he had received from hearing his own praise; and Eleazar was pressed for the reason of his assertion in such a manner, that he began to feel alarmed at the possible consequences of his own temerity. He therefore determined to place his objection on grounds which could not be sustained. Accordingly he alleged that Hyrcanus' mother had at one time, during the late persecution, been a captive among the Syrians; that consequently it was uncertain whether he was a descendant of Aaron or of a pagan.

This allegation, as Josephus positively declares, was palpably untrue; and Hyrcanus felt inclined to take no further notice of the insult, looking upon it merely as the ill-saying of a spiteful individual. But the *Sadducees*, a rival sect, were too expert politicians not to take advantage of this circumstance to raise a deadly feud between the whole family of the high-priest and the entire sect of Pharisees. Jonathan the Sadducee, an intimate friend of Hyrcanus, began by calling his attention to the fact that of all the assembled "Sages of Israel" who had partaken of the high-priest's hospitality, and witnessed the gross insult he had received, not one had risen to rebuke the calumniator or to vindicate the purity of Hyrcanus' birth.

When Jonathan found that this fact, which at the moment had escaped Hyrcanus' notice, now greatly exasperated him, the Sadducee went on to explain that the chiefs of the Pharisees had remained silent because they shared the opinion of Eleazar, and therefore were afraid or unable to rebuke him; and that to convince himself of this, Hyrcanus had only to demand of the Pharisees what punish-

ment should be inflicted on this free-spoken Eleazar, who had reviled God's high-priest. Hyrcanus did so; and when, in reply, he was informed that scourging and imprisonment formed the utmost punishment that the law awarded to Eleazar—whereas Hyrcanus deemed that the defamation of his mother, and, by implication, of himself, deserved to be punished with death,[7] he became convinced that, in the insult offered to him, Eleazar had been spokesman for the entire Pharisee party. Thenceforth, the prince high-priest renounced all connection with that sect; and, with his sons and all his family, publicly embraced the unpopular tenets of the Sadducees.

Now, there is no proof that the charge of "complicity in the insult," which Jonathan brought against the Pharisees, was true; yet there is every reason to suppose that these Pharisees, the guardians of tradition, agreed with Eleazar in thinking that the union of spiritual and temporal power in the hands of Hyrcanus, was contrary to law.

Tradition teaches that there were three distinct *crowns* or powers in Israel: *Kether kehunnah*, "the crown of priesthood;" *Kether malkhuth*, "the crown of royalty;" and *Kether torah*, "the crown of the law." The first, or priesthood, was the birthright of the house of Aaron of the tribe of Levi; the second, or royalty, was the birthright of the house of David of the tribe of Judah; the third and chiefest crown, that of the law, was not limited to any family or tribe, but was the birthright of every freeborn Israelite.

Each of these three crowns or powers had its pecu-

[7] As late as the year 1737, the Canon Giacomini and Count Trivelli were sentenced to death at Rome for having reviled and libelled the then reigning Pope. As the Canon was descended from the family of St. Jacob de la Marche, his sentence was commuted into imprisonment for life; but Count Trivelli was actually beheaded in February, 1737.

liar functions, and also its visible head or representative. The house of Aaron, whose head and representative was the high-priest, was alone intrusted with the ministry in the temple, and its public worship; with the offerings and external rites of religion. The head and representative of the house of David was the king, to whom the executive power in all its branches was intrusted. The crown of the law had its visible chief and representative in the SANHEDRIN, or supreme council, intrusted with the dispensation, in conformity with the Law of Moses, of justice in all matters spiritual, civil, and criminal.

Thus there was a division of powers, religious, executive, and judicial, duly balanced; and from a long experience of its advantages, the people had arrived at the well-founded conviction that this division and balance of powers was indispensable to the general freedom and happiness. As early as the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, royalty had attempted to interfere with and seize upon the functions of priesthood. But the attempt had been boldly and successfully resisted; and until the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the powers of royalty and of priesthood remained distinct. The destruction of the kingdom and of the temple, naturally deprived both the house of David and that of Aaron of their respective functions; but on their return from Babylon, the fortunes of these two distinguished families became very different.

When Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return to Judea, his intention was that they should reconstruct their temple with its religious rites; but he gave them no permission to restore their political institutions and royal dynasty. And though Zerubbabel, the leader of the first colony of Jews that returned to Jerusalem, was a member of the royal family of David, yet the office of chief which he held was personal, not hereditary; he was not succeeded in his office by his sons, though as the descendants

of David, they were held in high esteem by the people. But as in after ages we find most of the few branches of the family of David that survived located on the river Euphrates, while those who inhabited Judea took no prominent part in passing events, and are not noticed in history, it is probable that the jealousy of the Persian government did not permit the ancient royal family of Judea to emerge from its compulsory obscurity, or to rise above the level of the people; so that gradually this family became estranged from the affairs and the confidence of the Judeans.

Not so the house of Aaron. Without the sacerdotal family, no service could be performed in the temple. As soon as an altar was erected on which to offer sacrifices, the *Cohanim*, or descendants of Aaron, naturally resumed duties which no one but they could lawfully perform; and their chief, no longer overshadowed by the superior grandeur of royalty, as naturally assumed the first rank among his people. As the Persians, despots ingrained, were averse to popular or municipal government, and it nevertheless was necessary that there should be some functionary to represent the local interests of the Judeans with the Persian Satraps, the high-priest, a dignitary whose rank and office were recognised by the kings of Persia, was naturally preferred by that king's officers. And as the Jews were permitted, subject only to the payment of a tribute, to live according to their own laws, with which the Persian jurists were not conversant, the high-priest as the first in rank among his own people, and the highest official recognised by the Persians, naturally came to be the chief magistrate; and the more completely the Jews were left to themselves and to the blessings of self-government, the more was his secular power and influence extended. But still he only held his own office, or crown of high-priest, and did not usurp that of royalty; for as the functions of

judge and magistrate were open to every Israelite, the high-priest, as such, was likewise not excluded from performing them.

Such was the position of the high-priest during the whole time of Persian, Macedonian, Egyptian, and Syro-Grecian supremacy, until the pious Onias was deposed by Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, and murdered. The vile apostates, Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus, usurped the high-priesthood, and eventually assisted in the suppression of the Jewish public worship; while the temple and altar were transferred from the worship of God to that of idols—a state of things which continued until Judah, the son of Mattathias the Maccabee, following in the footsteps of his pious father, cleansed the temple of its defilement, and restored the pure service of the One True God.

Though Judah, and after him his brother Jonathan, were at the head of the armed force and of the civil administration of Judea, yet the people, who felt that but for the exertions of these heroic descendants of Aaron, there would have been neither temple nor worship, nor in fact a Jewish nation, by acclamation hailed Judah, and after him Jonathan as high-priest and civil rulers. The whole was looked upon as a temporary arrangement imperiously called for by the necessities of the times. When Simon, after the sad fate of his brother Jonathan, was called upon to assume the chief direction in peace and war, the condition of Judea was so precarious, that any division of power or collision of authority must have become fatal. The people therefore not only appointed Simon to be their spiritual and temporal chief, but they even went a step farther, and joined his sons in the appointment as his successors; for experience had proved how entirely the safety of the country depended upon the firm and continuous direction of public affairs, without that necessary but pernicious interruption which had followed the death of Judah

and of Jonathan, and which would be certain again to ensue if the last of the Maccabean brothers should depart this life without a successor having been appointed.

Yet, while they thus yielded to the necessities of the times, the elders and priests, as well as the people, had a misgiving that the uniting two crowns on one brow, or placing the government of church and state in one hand, was not only unlawful in itself, but might lead to the introduction of arbitrary power and to the crushing of the liberties of the people. They therefore annexed to the appointment of Simon and his sons the important stipulation, that this appointment was to continue only until "there should arise a faithful prophet to show them what they should do," and that thus the whole arrangement was only to be temporary, and should cease with the necessity that had called it forth.

That necessity—after the assassination of Simon and his two sons—continued so imperative, that Hyrcanus was readily confirmed in all the appointments held by his father Simon. During nearly thirty years he governed with great success, as ethnarch or temporal ruler, and as high-priest or spiritual chief. But during these many years of peace and security, the people began to feel that this departure from the law of God and the usage of Israel was no longer necessary. The *Sopherim*, scribes, or teachers of the Law, whose influence over the minds of the people daily became more powerful—a reaction natural after the long and fierce struggles against apostasy and innovation—laboured hard, in every instance, to restore and enforce the letter of the Law and of the ancient traditions. And when the chiefs of these *Sopherim* remained silent under the rebuke which Eleazar administered to Hyrcanus in their presence, and when they subsequently refused to decree capital punishment against the offender, it was because they felt that Eleazar was right; a feeling probably

not lessened by the prospect before them of the haughty Aristobulus, at the head of his foreign mercenaries, succeeding his father Hyrcanus in almost dictatorial power.

Although Hyrcanus had renounced his connection with the *Sopherim*, or Pharisee party, he could not but feel—indeed, the murmurs of the people admonished him—that though no prophet had arisen, yet the voice of the people, which in Israel had always been considered as the *vox Dei*, the voice of God, had decided for the separation of the two crowns that had been intrusted to himself; and he determined to submit to the popular will. As his own end was approaching, he settled the succession by his will in such a manner, that while the different powers he possessed should still be preserved to his house, they should, nevertheless, be confided to different hands. For this purpose, he willed that his wife should, during her lifetime, be regent of Judea, while the functions of high-priest would naturally have to be performed by his son Aristobulus. Having thus endeavoured to satisfy the people, Hyrcanus died (107 B. C. E.) twenty-nine years after his father Simon, and left Judea secure and independent in her foreign relations, but threatened with civil dissensions and party rage in her own bosom.

CHAPTER XI.

Aristobulus I., King of Judea—Death of his mother; of his brother Antigonus—Conquest of Iturea—Death of Aristobulus; state of parties at his death—The Sanhedrin—Sects: the Essenes; the Sadducees; the Pharisees—Alexander Jannai, King of Judea; his character; besieges Ptolemais; defeated by P. Lathyrus; succoured by Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt; her intrigues in Syria; her death—Civil war between the princes of Syria—Jannai's campaigns east of Jordan; his victories and defeats; siege and capture of Gaza; his cruelty—Riots in Jerusalem—The king insulted in the temple—Civil war of six years in Judea—Exasperation of the Pharisees—Jannai victorious—Inhuman revenge on the vanquished—Jannai obtains the nickname of *Thracidas*.—(From 107 to 85 B. C. E.)

HYRCANUS was the last of the Maccabean worthies who hold so glorious a place in Jewish history; for though there was more of selfishness in his character than in that of his father or of his uncles: though ambition was to the full as predominant a feeling within him as patriotism or love of religion, while the desire to see Judea independent and the temple-worship upheld in its purity was in his mind inseparable from the supremacy of his house in the state and at the altar,—nevertheless, during the earlier years of his administration, and while the great struggle was far from decided, he made the welfare of the people his chief law. And his last will provided for a division of powers, which, if properly followed up, might have averted the ills that threatened the nation.

His will was not, however, carried out. His eldest son, Aristobulus, beloved by the populace on account of his great victory over Cyzicenus, and a favourite with his father's mercenaries because of his soldierly carriage and great liberality, did not wait for the publication of his

father's testament, nor yet for the formula of popular election; but at once, and as if it were a private inheritance, his right to which could not be disputed, took possession of his father's vast treasures; and having secured the assistance of the foreign mercenaries, whose commander he was, he seized upon the supreme power in church and state as it had been held by his father. His mother in vain urged her right to the regency, by virtue of Hyrcanus' will; and when she persisted in protesting against his usurpation, Aristobulus threw her and her three younger sons into prison. And having thus secured himself in the principality and as high-priest, he ventured on the questionable step of proclaiming himself king of Judea.

His second and favourite brother, Antigonus, who had been joined in command with him before Samaria, he appointed his lieutenant, both in the government and in the priesthood. And thus this first Asmonean king of Judea did, at Jerusalem, what Julius Cæsar did a century later at Rome. Leaders of an armed force, the command of which had originally been bestowed by popular election, they not only used that force to seize upon supreme authority in the state, but, in order to secure that authority, they determined also to be the chiefs of religion, even as in the oldest times the kings of Egypt had united in their own person the offices of king and high-priest. In Rome, the plan succeeded, because idolatry and its maxims were pliant. In Judea, it failed, because the religious convictions of the people were inflexible.

Crime and misfortune beset the cradle of this new Judean royalty, and did not quit it till its grave. The widow of Hyrcanus, a high-spirited woman, who, with her three younger sons, had been thrown in prison by Aristobulus, resented the cruel indignity thus put upon her by her first-born so strongly, that refusing to take any food, she soon

died in prison; and the report spread abroad that the king had caused his aged mother to be starved to death.

Flushed with success and swayed by ambition, Aristobulus did not at first feel any remorse at the cruel and untimely death of his mother. But in order to divert public attention from this fatal event, and also to prove himself worthy of the crown he had assumed, he determined to carry out the plan of conquest which his father had commenced, and in which he was certain of being warmly supported by the patriotism and national passions of the Jews. This plan consisted in regaining and incorporating with Judea all those towns and territories which had originally formed part of the land of Israel, or had been held by Israelites, but which at or after the Assyrian or Babylonish captivities had been seized upon and were still held by the neighbouring tribes and nations. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, and attended by his brother Antigonus, the king shortly after his accession to power marched forth against the Itureans, a tribe of Ishmaelites or Arabs who had obtained possession of a district east of the Jordan and south of Damascus, that had formerly been occupied by the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Menasseh, (1 Chron. v. 19.) The open country was soon conquered, and the king laid siege to the principal town of Iturea, when he was seized with a dangerous malady which compelled him to quit the army, leaving the command and the final subjugation of the country to his brother Antigonus.

Soon after the king's return to Jerusalem his malady assumed a character that left no hopes of his recovery. As he had no children, his queen, Salome or Alexandra, would, in accordance with the Law of Moses, have been bound immediately after his death to become the wife of his brother Antigonus. But though this young prince is described as handsome, brave, and accomplished, Salome

had conceived against him an insurmountable aversion. And so deadly was her hatred, that she determined to destroy Antigonus before the death of the king; and, by the assistance of corrupt courtiers, an intrigue to effect her object was soon planned, and in due time successfully carried out.

Antigonus had at length forced Iturea to submit to the terms which before his departure from the army Aristobulus had offered to the inhabitants, and which were similar to those his father Hyrcanus had granted to the Idumeans—viz., to embrace the Jewish religion, or to quit the country. They perferred the former; and accordingly were admitted into the covenant of Abraham and incorporated in the Jewish nation. Having thus successfully closed the campaign with the capture of the strongly-fortified city of Iturea, and the subjection of the whole district, Antigonus at the head of his victorious army returned to Jerusalem, where he arrived during the festival of tabernacles. High service was being performed at the temple; and in his eager haste to return thanks to God for his success, Antigonus, all clothed in armour as he was, and before he had waited on the king, hurried to the temple to join in the public worship.

This was too good an opportunity for his enemies, who seized upon and used it to the utmost. The queen and her *clique* had all along been trying to excite suspicions in the king's mind against his brother, to whose disadvantage they were continually insinuating hints and reports, as if he meant to supplant his elder brother. And though the king knew and loved his brother too well to yield credence to all these malicious reports, yet it appears that his mind, naturally stern, and now acted upon by disease, was gradually moved to suspicion by the unceasing calumnies which his own wife and his immediate attendants were continually pouring into his ears. And when they

now assured him that his brother, all armed, had hurried to the temple with no other intention than to harangue the multitude and at once to usurp the crown; and when, in support of this assertion, they dwelt on the fact that Antigonus had shown himself to the people before he had appeared in the king's presence, that he had thus been guilty of disrespect to the king's person and dignity, and that Antigonus had done this because he did not wish to see a brother whom he meant presently to deprive of his life and crown,—when all this was forced upon the king's conviction by the tears of his wife and the plausible arguments of *his* confidants, but *her* creatures, the king was greatly moved; and though still unwilling implicitly to believe the calumny, he despatched a messenger to summon his brother immediately to appear before him. But, with that mistrust which is the curse of despots and inseparable from Eastern royalty, he ordered his brother to come without armour or arms of any kind.

Having extorted this first order, the queen recommended as a measure of precaution—and which the king was weak enough to adopt—that a troop of the king's foreign guards should be posted in the dark gallery that led from the temple to the royal palace and castle of Baris. The officer in command of these guards received strict order from the king himself that if Antigonus entered the gallery in armour, he was at once, and without further parley, to be cut down; but if unarmed, he was to pass without molestation. The chamberlain who conveyed the king's message to Antigonus was a creature of the queen, and suborned by her. The message he delivered to the unfortunate prince was that he should directly and without delay attend upon the king; and that he should come completely armed, as the queen wished to see his new suit of armour. The unsuspecting Antigonus hastened to obey; but no sooner did the guards see him approach in armour than,

in obedience to the king's order, they fell upon him and slew him on the spot.[8]

This foul murder had scarcely been committed before Aristobulas repented it most grievously. As he lay on his sick bed, his fevered imagination depicted to his mind's eye his beloved brother perishing under the swords of ferocious hirelings; and his conscience once aroused, the groans of his dying mother also rung upon his ears, and occasioned such perturbation that it brought on a vomiting of blood. The servant in attendance, in carrying out the basin, stumbled and spilled it on the very spot where Antigonus had been slain. When the king was informed of this accident, it affected him so greatly that he could no longer restrain his feelings, but loudly and bitterly accused

[8] On this occasion Josephus for the first time makes mention of the sect of the *Essenes*, and that under circumstances so singular, that we are tempted to repeat them: "Before Antigonus' return to Jerusalem from his campaign in Iturea, an *Essene* named Judah predicted that the young prince was to die on a certain day during the festival of tabernacles, and at a place called the tower of Straton. On the day fixed by Judah, Antigonus arrived at Jerusalem, and, as has been related in the text, hastened to the temple. When Judah saw him, he began to weep, and, on being questioned, replied, 'I weep because of the fate of this beauteous young hero, or at my own. For either he must lose his life this very day at the tower of Straton, or I am a false prophet.' Those who heard him laughed at his prophetic pretensions, and said, 'Assuredly thou art a false prophet, and the fulfilment of thy prediction is absolutely impossible. The place known as the tower of Straton (a fortified castle on the plains of Esdraelon) is six hundred stadia (nearly one hundred miles) from Jerusalem; and how can Antigonus get there to-day?' On hearing this, Judah began to weep still more bitterly, lamented his own fate, and wished he might have died rather than have proved a false prophet. But his prediction was fulfilled, and to the letter. Close to the spot in the gallery where the unfortunate Antigonus was murdered, there rose a tower, which the builders, from some cause not known, had named "Straton's Tower." This, though the first, is not the only instance in which Josephus describes Essenes as possessed of the gift of prophecy, or the power of foretelling future events.

himself of both of these unnatural murders. So great was the agony of his remorse that, in conjunction with his disease, it soon brought him to a miserable and premature death, after his having reigned no more than one year.

The brief administration of Aristobulus formed the prelude of calm that preceded the storm of party and sectarian strife which burst forth in the reign of his successor. The questions at issue were—1st. Between the two crowns or powers held by the Asmoneans, royalty and priesthood, on the one side, and the third crown, that of the Law or the senate, on the other. And 2d. Between the sect of the Sadducees, supporters of the Asmoneans, and that of the Pharisees, who identified themselves with the senate or Sanhedrin. And as these questions involved matters of political supremacy and material advantage, as well as of faith and religious observance, they soon called forth the most bitter feelings of personal rancour and of public animosity. We have already spoken of the union of church and state in the hands of the reigning family; we now have to offer some remarks respecting the third crown, that of the Law, represented by the Sanhedrin.

Few institutions in ancient or modern, sacred or profane history, possess such celebrity as this high national council or senate of the Jews. But yet, though all agree as to the importance of its attributes and functions, great difference of opinion prevails respecting its origin and antiquity. Orthodox Jews quote the authority of sacred Scripture in support of ascribing the origin of the Sanhedrin to Moses, who, as related in the 11th chapter of Numbers, was commanded by God to form a tribunal of seventy elders; and the authority of tradition is adduced to prove that this tribunal remained in existence, and its chiefs succeeded each other uninterruptedly, from the days of Moses until the close of the patriarchate of Tiberias, or

even until the close of the Babylon Talmud, (about the year 500 A. C. E.)

In opposition to this view, other biblical critics have endeavoured to prove that the institution of the Sanhedrin is of comparatively modern date. In support of their opinion, these critics, chiefly non-Israelites, assert that Josephus the historian makes no mention of the Sanhedrin until the days of Antipater and Herod; and that, at farthest, the first mention of the existence of such a national council can only be carried back to the book of Maccabees, where it is designated as *Gerousia*, or council of elders.

Another objection urged against the antiquity of the Sanhedrin is deduced from its very designation; because Sanhedrin or Synedrion is a word not of Hebrew, but of Greek origin; and that consequently the institution it designates can not have originated before the time when the Greeks exercised complete and active supremacy in Judea; which again brings us to the period immediately preceding the Maccabees. These critics, however, make a point of rejecting all Jewish sources of history, *Talmud* and *Medrashim*, while they pin their faith on the sleeve of Josephus; thus bestowing on him a degree of confidence of which, when closely examined, he is by no means found to be deserving; and at the same time withholding all belief from other writers, whose trustworthiness rises in our estimation the more they are subject to the test of rigid criticism.

If we examine the later books of the Old Testament, we shall find frequent mention made of the *Zekenim*, "elders." Indeed on one occasion before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, we find the prophet Ezekiel (viii. 11, 12) speaks of the *Ziknay-Israel*, "elders of Israel," as a constituted body; and even mentions the number of its assessors as seventy, the very number origin-

ally appointed by Moses, and which afterward constituted the Sanhedrin.

Here, then, we have positive scriptural proof that such a council existed previous to the Babylonish captivity—proof against which any doubt deduced from the silence of Josephus is of no value whatever. On the return from the Babylonish captivity, we no sooner find the Jews again established in Judea than we meet with the "council of elders." But as the Hebrew language had ceased to be the vernacular tongue of the Judeans, their council is no longer styled *Ziknay-Israel*, but *Sabay-Jehudai*, "the elders of the Jews," and as such they are designated and recognised as a constituted body by Darius, King of Persia, in his decree for rebuilding the temple, (Ezra vi. 8.) On many other occasions we find mention made of these Sabay-Jehudai; (Ib. v. 8; vi. 15;) and that they are identical with the ancient institution of "elders" is proved by the fact that when they are spoken of in Hebrew they are styled, as of old, *Ha-Zekenim*, "the elders," (Ib. x. 8,) with the definite article to indicate that the well-known public council is spoken of.

When the Greeks under Alexander the Great, and the Egypto-Grecians under Ptolemy I. Soter, obtained dominion in Judea, their language predominated in all public transactions. It therefore became necessary to adopt a Greek name for the Jewish council. The usual title of the municipal councils of the Greeks was what first presented itself to the Jews, and they styled their council of elders *Gerousia*, all the more readily as that word is only the Greek translation of the Hebrew *Zekenim*, as the Aramaic *Sabim* had also been. But when in process of time, the Jews became better acquainted with the nature of Greek institutions, they felt unwilling that their great national council—and which after the recovery of their independence became their supreme council—should be

confounded with the petty municipal councils of Greece. They therefore renounced the designation *Gerousia*, and adopted the style and title of *Synedrion* or *Sanhedrin*, to distinguish their council from the municipalities of Greece, and as best corresponding to the Hebrew term *Keneseth Hagdola*, "great assembly," which was the title given to their constituent council in the days of Ezra. As the duration of Jewish independence was but brief, and the Romans in their government of the East made use of the Greek language, the term *Sanhedrin* came to be continued and perpetuated.

We have thus traced the existence of a council of *Zekenim* founded by Moses, existing in the days of Ezekiel, restored by the name of *Sabay-Jehudai* under the Persian dominion, known as *Gerousia* during the supremacy of the Greeks, and as *Sanhedrin* under the Asmonean kings and under the Romans. We have also shown that the Greek name of this Jewish council affords no proof against the antiquity of the institution; since, however often the name was altered, the council itself never ceased to exist. Against this array of positive proof, chiefly derived from Scripture, the critics who object to the antiquity of the Sanhedrin have nothing stronger to oppose than the negative proof derived from the silence of Josephus!

The *Mishna*, in treatise *Aboth*, takes up the subject of the "council of elders" where sacred Scriptures left it; and from the days of "Simon the Just," the last survivor of the "men of the great assembly"—of whom we have already spoken very fully—it gives us the names, in uninterrupted sequence, of his successors in the presidential office. We have already spoken of Antigonus of Socho, who laboured to stem the torrent of Epicurean philosophy; we have also related how, after him, the pressure of the times caused the office to be divided between two functionaries; and that his immediate successor, José, the son

of Joëzer of Zereda, suffered martyrdom at the hands of the apostate Alcimus. He was chief of the *Hassidim*, "pious ones," who stood by the Maccabees during the long and fierce struggle for Jewish faith and nationality against Greek fanaticism and corruption.

To uphold Jewish nationality, the utmost importance was attached to Jewish customs in opposition to Grecian manners; and in order to strengthen the adherence to Jewish customs, the aid of tradition was invoked. Ever since the days of Moses, tradition had formed a leading authority in the observances of Israel, as can be abundantly proved by numerous texts of Scripture. When, after the return from Babylonish captivity, foreign connections and intermarriages threatened to become dangerous to Jewish nationality, and were countenanced by the priests, we find that Ezra, Nehemiah, and the "men of the great assembly," deemed it their duty to "erect a fence round the Law," (*Aboth*, i. 1.) This fence derived its strength from tradition; of which the disciples of Ezra and of the "great assembly"—called after him (Ez. vii. 6, et passim) *Sopherim*, "scribes," or "expounders"—were constituted the guardians and teachers. These *Sopherim* naturally identified themselves with the *Hassidim*, whose cause was their own. And as the members of the Sanhedrin were chiefly chosen from among the Sopherim, it gave to the principles of the Hassidim the greatest preponderance in the national council, and to the Sopherim the greatest authority among the people.

But though the victories of the Maccabees had decided the triumph of Judaism and of Jewish nationality, a fondness for Grecian manners, refinements, and elegancies still survived in many Judeans, especially of the wealthier and more influential classes. Hence arose the attempt to reconcile the Law of Moses with Grecian civilization. A belief in one God is the perfection of reason, and can only

be obtained by means of revelation. The moral code of Moses, so infinitely superior to any other system of morality the world had ever known, commanded that universal respect which was due to its divine origin and authority. The religious rites of Moses, and his system of public worship, so splendid and yet so pure, addressed themselves at once to the reason and the feelings; while his dietary and social laws were so salutary and wise, that the more strict the obedience they received, the greater the happiness they would confer.

But in all these particulars the Law of Moses was not at war with the elegancies of Greek civilization. The most refined and philosophical of Athenians would lose nothing, but gain much, by accepting and obeying the Law of Moses; while, on the other hand, the most rigid adherent of that law might derive knowledge from Aristotle, experience from Thucydides, and elegance from Plato, without ceasing to be a good Jew. What stood in the way was not law, but custom and practice; these, therefore, must be set aside; and as they derived their chief weight from tradition, the authority of tradition must be got rid of. The shortest way for doing this was altogether to deny its truth, and to set up the strict letter of the Law, and that alone, to the utter exclusion and rejection of every interpretation or exposition. Accordingly, these *Phil-hellenes*—a designation considered so glorious, that King Aristobulus adopted it as his surname—took their stand on the strict letter of the Law, and rejected every dogma or article of faith not expressly and distinctly set forth in the Law.

Among the dogmas thus rejected were two most important ones—the immortality of the soul, with its corollary, the rewards and punishments of a future state, and the resurrection of the dead. Both these doctrines, though indicated by various texts of the Law, are nowhere stated

in plain terms. And this circumstance, together with the misconstruing—either intentional or inadvertent—by Antigonus of Socho's doctrine: "Be ye not like servants who wait on the master under the stipulation to receive a reward," had led his two disciples, Zadock and Baithos, to found a school, which denied the immortality of the soul, as we have already fully related.

The admirers of Grecian manners and elegance, with their strong leaning toward the philosophy of Epicurus, readily joined the school of Zadock, as the nearest approach to Hellenism or Greek feelings reconcilable with the Law of Moses and Jewish nationality; and thus what had been a school became a sect. And as the champions for tradition and custom founded on interpretation had obtained the name *Hassidim*, "the pious," their opponents, who stood up for the letter of the Law, assumed that of *Zadikim*, "the righteous." The body of the people, however, who were strongly averse to their prineiples, would not allow them so honourable a designation. But, by a slight modification of the name they claimed, called them *Zadookim*, or, as the Greeks have it, *Sadducees*, in allusion to *Zadock*, the founder of their sect, a party name which they did not altogether decline, and by which they became best known. Their antagonists, the upholders of tradition, deeming the name *Hassidim*, "the pious," too assuming, especially when applied to the greater part of an entire nation, adopted a name expressive of their opinions, and were called *Perooshim*, "Expounders," or, as the Greeks have it, *Pharisees*—a name of unenviable notoriety in after years.

In addition to these two sects, a third, less numerous and influential, had sprung up—that of the *Essenes*. Respecting the etymology of this word opinions are much divided. Some derive it from the Aramaic word *Asia*, "physician," either because the Essenes chiefly occupied themselves with

medical studies, or because they professed to heal souls diseased. Others derive the name from the Hebrew *Hassah*, "hush," or "be silent," because it was a rule of this sect to speak but little. The Greek *Asios*, "holy," and the Hebrew *Hassid*, "pious," have been offered as explanatory of *Essene;* while the most probable opinion derives it from one Hosseus or Esseus, otherwise little known, but who is assumed to have been the founder of the sect. Its origin is likewise a matter of dispute. The "school of the prophets," (1 Sam. ix. 18, 23,) the Rechabites," (Jer. xxxv.,) and the descendants of "Keni," the father-in-law or brother-in-law of Moses, (Judges i. 16,) have been named as the origin of the Essenes. P. Beer, in his "History, Doctrines, and Opinions of all Religious Sects among the Jews," (vol i. p. 68, et. seq.,) will have it that this sect "emanates from the Hellenists or Jews, who, after a long sojourn in Egypt, (whither they had fled on the destruction of the first temple,) had become acquainted with the philosophy of Pythagoras and of Plato, which they amalgamated with the fundamental doctrines of the Law of Moses that they professed to obey, and on which amalgamation they founded their religious principles."

"The first mention of the Essenes is made in the days of Jonathan the Maccabee, when, however, they are spoken of as an already well-known sect." "They were distinguished by the purity of their morals, propriety of conduct, which frequently became ascetic in the highest degree, and the spiritual elevation of their dogmas." "Their characteristic principle was, God can only be worshipped in truth and in the spirit through inward virtue, and not through sacrifices or outward ceremonies; and that true virtue consists in pure and uninterested love of God and of our brethren, the human race." "Sensual indulgences they shun as the first of all sins, but consider abstemiousness, and the command over our passions and desires, as the

root of all virtue." "They do not greatly value matrimony, but adopt the children of other men while yet of tender age and capable of receiving first impressions. These children they regard as relatives, and educate in their own principles." "The belief that the soul survives its earthly tenement, and is indeed immortal, is one of their fundamental principles of faith." "They affirm that the certainty of reward in a future state is the greatest stimulus a good man can have to persevere, and even progress, in piety and righteousness; while the unruly passions and violent excesses of the wicked must be restrained by the greatest terror that can work upon the mind—namely, the dread of punishment unavoidable, unceasing, and unmitigated."

We have given these extracts from the English translation of Beer's work in the Hebrew Review, (vol. iii. p. 123, 138, 156,) in order to point out to our readers the great resemblance between these doctrines and those which somewhat later were taught by the founder of the Christian faith. Beer derives his knowledge of the Essenes from Josephus and Philo the younger. Josephus, indeed, in his autobiography declares that he had examined the doctrines of every Jewish sect; but it must be borne in mind that the Essenes formed a secret society, in which there were several successive degrees. Every aspirant for membership had to undergo a rigid probation; and at the time of his initiation had to pledge himself by oath never to divulge to any the esoteric or secret doctrines of the sect—with which indeed he himself only became gradually acquainted as he rose to higher degrees—and also to keep their religious books concealed. But Josephus was not initiated into the mysteries of the Essenes, and could therefore be acquainted with their dogmas only as far as these were generally known. To us of the present age, secret initiation, concealment of doctrine, degrees, and

oaths must always cause a degree of suspicion, which in the case of the Essenes is still further heightened by their pretensions to prophetic powers, of which we have related an instance on the occasion of the tragic death of Antigonus.[9]

But as these Essenes never obtained any leading influence in public affairs, history has chiefly to do with the two sects of the Sadducees and Pharisees. The first named, as we have already stated, never became popular, though as Josephus remarks, most of its professors attained to the highest offices of the state. Nor must we feel surprised at this; for men whose entire existence, as they believe, is limited to earth, will naturally seek to enjoy as much of wealth, of power, and of pleasure as by any possible means they can achieve; and though others may be as greedy of the good things of this life, yet in the struggle those have a great advantage whose ambition is never checked by any fear of the long hereafter. The Sadducees, who maintained the freedom of human will to the utmost latitude, while they rejected all future responsibility, were in the highest degree selfish, proud, and merciless. As they held that the power to do good or evil is altogether in the will of man, they never pardoned offenders, but administered the law in the harshest manner; but on the other hand, as they identified their own welfare with that of their country, they were in the highest degree patriotic, and anxious to maintain the independence and to extend the power of Judea.

The Pharisees ranked much higher in the estimation of

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[9] The learned Dr. Frankel, in his *Monatschrift* for January and February, 1853, has collected from the Talmud a number of interesting notices concerning the Essenes, which go far to prove that this sect likewise received the traditions: and that both Philo and Josephus have given loose to their poetic imagination in their account of its tenets and practices.

the people, and justly so. Equally patriotic with the Sadducees, they not only sought, like them, to maintain the independence and power of their country, but also to protect the liberties of the people, and to preserve those customs which, as they conceived, constituted its nationality. Believing in the immortality of the soul, as did the Essenes, and in the divine origin and consequent obligation of the sacrifices, rites, and observances of the Law of Moses, as did the Sadducees, the Pharisees combined within themselves what was most precious in the principles of these two rival sects; while the limited view they took of the freedom of the human will, and which fell far short of that held by the Sadducees, inclined them to a more charitable feeling toward offenders, and a more merciful administration of the law.

Unfortunately, the numerous external observances they inculcated gave too large a scope for hypocrisy. Selfish men soon discovered that the rigid practice of ritual acts and outward sanctity, especially when combined with learning, imposed on the minds of the multitude, and imparted a degree of influence which neither rank nor wealth could bestow; and there were but too many willing and able to avail themselves of the discovery. The heavy charges which the Founder of the Christian faith brings against Pharisees are fully confirmed by the Talmud, (tr. Sotah, fo. 22, B,) where seven different classes of Pharisees are enumerated, of whom five are described as equally contemptible and detestable. King Alexander Jannæus, the successor of Aristobulus, justly characterized these men as *Zebooim*, "dyed" or "varnished."

But in speaking of the great national party or sect that received the traditions and the teachings of the Pharisees, we must take care to distinguish these varnished hypocrites, and by no means to identify with them the pious and

God-fearing men whose firm and zealous adherence to the Law, the faith, and the customs of their fathers, has, under Providence, been the means of preserving Judaism and the Jews even to this day. And it is a remarkable fact that, at the very time the Founder of the Christian faith most strongly rebukes the personal vices and failings of Pharisees, and most pointedly reproaches their hypocrisy and abuse of power, he yet recognises the authority and the lawfulness of their teachings, when he says, "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses's seat; all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works, for they say and do not." (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.)

Such were the three sects which swayed the public mind in Judea, when the rupture broke out between Hyrcanus and the sect which formed the preponderating majority in the Sanhedrin. Till then, the Maccabees or Asmoneans had been Pharisees of the purest kind, and as such their popularity had been boundless. But the Sanhedrin were the conservators of the Law; and the Pharisees, or in other words, the great mass of the people, were the natural adherents of this great national council; whereas Hyrcanus and his family, as a consequence of the rupture, threw themselves into the arms of the Sadducees, an unpopular minority, till then powerless, but now, united with the executive, for a time at least powerful and influential. Thus were formed two political parties, each identified with a religious sect: the royalists, or party of the priesthood and army, professing the principles of the Sadducees; and the senatorial party, or that of the people, identified with the Pharisees.

One cannot help being struck with the close resemblance this struggle of parties bears to the civil wars of England under Charles I., when the king was supported by the cavaliers, the bishops, and the clergy of the high church,

while the cause of the parliament was upheld by the Puritans and the people.

Hyrcanus did not live long enough after the rupture to witness the consequences of his connection with an unpopular sect. His successor, Aristobulus, was too much of a personal favourite with the populace, and his reign was too brief to permit the opposition—if we may apply this term of comparatively modern date to the anti-royalists of Judea—to organize means of active hostility. It was reserved for his brother and successor, Alexander Jannæus, to encounter the full tide of popular resistance and of Pharisee indignation.

Jannæus, Jonathan, or as he is called in the Talmud, Jannai, stepped from the prison—into which he had been thrown with his mother and younger brothers—to the throne vacant by the death of Aristobulus. His first measure was to marry the childless widow of his brother, the late king. This he did in conformity to the Law of Moses, (Deut. xxv. 5–10.) When, however, we remember her successful though most nefarious conspiracy to destroy the heir-presumptive to the throne and to her hand, Antigonus, we may, without calumny, assume that this marriage with Jannai was uppermost in her mind from the moment her husband's hopeless malady left no doubt of his speedy demise; and that the same unscrupulous energy which removed an obnoxious claimant to her marriage-troth, had also been exerted to smooth the path to the throne for a more favoured suitor. Certain it is, that a younger brother, whose name has not reached us, but who attempted to dispute the right of Jannai to the succession, was put to death by the queen's mercenaries. The youngest of the five sons of Hyrcanus, named Absalon, a man of timid disposition and very limited capabilities, was permitted to live unmolested, and in such privacy that he is not heard of again until forty-two years later, when, hav-

ing taken part in the defence of Jerusalem against the Romans, he was made prisoner by Pompey and sent to Rome.

Thus the first steps of Jannai to the throne had been marked by blood; and thenceforth his crown was guarded and defended, not by the love of his people, but by the swords of his hired janizaries. And as he felt that his safety depended on his foreign mercenaries, he increased their number by many thousands, which the vast treasures he inherited enabled him to do with facility and without burdening the people. Finding, however, that his great military force was likely to become ungovernable and dangerous unless actively employed, and as he was actuated, moreover, by the maxims of state policy bequeathed to him by his predecessors, he determined to recover as much of the ancient land of Israel as yet remained in the possession of aliens.

At the time he ascended the throne Jannai was twenty-two years old. His personal appearance was highly prepossessing, his energy and perseverance indomitable, his talents considerable; but his disposition ruthless and restless in the extreme; and his natural indifference to human suffering, still farther heightened by the stern principles of the Sadducees, to which, during the whole of his turbulent reign, he faithfully adhered. It was his misfortune that he thus became identified with an unpopular sect, and provoked the rancorous hatred of a powerful party which he nearly reduced to ruin. But a greater misfortune still—at least for his reputation with posterity—was, that the party which he so cruelly persecuted, and which so fully reciprocated his detestation, outlived him, recovered its power, and revenged itself upon his memory by writing his history; for, all that we know of his life and actions has reached us through the records of his bitter enemies; and even they unfold traits in his charracter that lead us

to hesitate before we give implicit credence to every tale of horror of which they represent him as the perpetrator.

His restless disposition, joined to the necessity of finding employment for his numerous mercenaries, did not permit him long to enjoy the luxuries of his splendid palace at Jerusalem. But in the first year of his reign (105 B. C. E.) he led his army against Ptolemais, now called St. John d'Acre, a city important from its position, and, celebrated for the numerous sieges which in ancient as in modern times it has sustained. When Jannai appeared before her walls, Ptolemais had for several years maintained her independence against the rival brothers of Syria, and carried on an extensive and lucrative commerce. The inhabitants, numerous and wealthy, were of Egypto-Grecian descent, and, though long incorporated in the Syrian empire, had not forgotten their origin. Threatened, as they now were, and notwithstanding the strength of their fortifications, by an enemy obstinate, powerful, and abundantly furnished with engines and implements of siege, the citizens looked around for foreign assistance; and as the brothers Grypus and Cyzicenus—the sovereigns from whose family they had revolted, and who, moreover were weakened by their renewed hostilities—could not be expected to befriend Ptolemais, Egypt was the power most likely to afford help.

But the queen-regent, Cleopatra, looked upon the cause of the Jews as her own. The assistance which her son and partner in the kingdom, Lathyrus, had without her consent or knowledge afforded to the king of Damascus in his invasion of Judea, had provoked her utmost resentment. She determined to drive him from the throne, and to advance in his stead her younger son, Alexander, then viceroy in Cyprus. To accomplish her design, she had recourse to a stratagem as cruel as it was perfidious. Her eunuchs sallied forth from the palace of Alexandria stream-

ing with blood, and imploring the aid of the citizens against Lathyrus, "whom at the price of their wounds they had hardly been able to restrain from the crime of matricide." The excitable mob of Alexandria was soon inflamed; a violent insurrection broke out, and the palace was assaulted. Lathyrus, taken by surprise, would have been murdered by the enraged multitude, had not some devoted friends first sheltered him, and then enabled him to escape by sea; while his brother, as had previously been concerted, arrived from Cyprus and ascended the throne.

But this sudden revolution had been effected by the deluded passions of the capital, and was not generally abetted either by the state or the army. Lathyrus, who sought refuge in Cyprus, was acknowledged as the sovereign of the island; and the forces his mother sent to reduce him immediately went over to his party. Master of Cyprus, and at the head of thirty thousand men, chiefly Greek veterans, he prepared shipping, and watched an opportunity to return to Egypt and by force to recover his crown. To this prince the citizens of Ptolemais applied for aid, the more readily as his preparations were in a sufficient state of forwardness to afford them immediate relief. He granted their application, and with a powerful armament sailed to the assistance of the besieged city.

At the approach of this formidable reinforcement, Jannai raised the siege, and immediately applied to the queen of Egypt for assistance against the common enemy. But while the citizens of Ptolemais rejoiced at the retreat of their Jewish foes, they began to suspect and to fear the designs of their deliverer. Demænetus, a favourite demagogue and chief of the people, did not hesitate to assure his fellow-citizens that the vast armament of Lathyrus was not merely intended to defend Ptolemais against the

Jews, but rather, and principally, to secure possession of the city for himself. The consequence of this free-spoken declaration, which was in fact the expression of the general public opinion, was that Ptolemais refused to receive her deliverer, and closed her gates against him.

Stung with this affront, Lathyrus adopted the hostile resolution which had so unwarrantably been imputed to him. One portion of his army he left to besiege Ptolemais; and that hapless city, scarcely freed from her Jewish assailants, was besieged by an enemy even more to be dreaded, since friends, insulted and exasperated by ingratitude, prove the most relentless and dangerous of foes. With the remainder of his army, which he headed in person, Lathyrus, assisted by the counsels of Philostephanas, a Greek general of great experience, marched against Jannai.

The king of the Jews, who saw his designs against Ptolemais frustrated, and who felt that his own subjects were lukewarm in his defence, had no great desire to fight Lathyrus. The commencement of hostilities had been unfavourable to him, as the invaders had taken the city of *Azochis* in Galilee, whence they carried off ten thousand prisoners without his being able to prevent them. He therefore made overtures of peace to Lathyrus; but while negotiations were pending, the Egyptian prince was informed by his partisans in Alexandria that Jannai had applied for assistance against him to Queen Cleopatra, and that she was about despatching a strong body of veteran troops into Judea.

The receipt of this intelligence exasperated Lathyrus in the highest degree, and he looked upon Jannai's proposals of peace as a mere trap to keep him inactive and secure until, by the arrival of his mother's forces, he should be placed between and crushed by two hostile armies. The son of Physcon had inherited his father's hatred of

the Jews; he had moreover to revenge the destruction of the auxiliary corps with which a couple of years before he had assisted King A. Cyzicenus. He therefore broke off all further negotiations, and loudly accusing Jannai of treachery, marched against him, fully determined to destroy his army before the arrival of his Egyptian allies. Timagenes, a Greek historian quoted by Josephus, who relates the war between Lathyrus and Jannai with a strong bias against the latter, dwells at some length on the treachery of the Jewish monarch; and such is the influence of party feeling, that Josephus does not think it worth while to defend the character of the obnoxious Jannai, or to refute the accusation, as he might easily have done by a simple referenee to the fact that Jannai's application for help to Cleopatra preceded his offers of peace by some months, and that he had received no answer or assurance of aid from her when he entered into negotiations with Lathyrus.

As the invaders advanced, Jannai retreated across the Jordan. His plan was to allow his enemies to cross, and then by a sudden and irresistible attack to drive them into the river. He had upward of forty thousand men, while the army of Lathyrus exceeded thirty thousand; but the quality of Jannai's troops was greatly inferior to that of his adversaries; for the number of native Jews in his army was not great, nor were they zealous in the cause of their Sadducee king. His principal reliance was therefore on his Gallic and Syrian mercenaries, who were by no means equal to the Greek veterans in Lathyrus's army, any more than the generalship of Jannai himself—who, though brave as steel, was altogether destitute of experience—could equal the military talents of Philostephanas. Still the battle was long and doubtful; victory seemed even on the point of declaring for Jannai, when the unexpected arrival of a large reserve, led on by the

Greek general in person, changed the fortune of the day and led to the total destruction of Jannai's army. (104 B. C. E.)

This was the first signal defeat which in the long wars of the Maccabees the Jews had ever suffered. Timagenes who swells Jannai's numbers to 80,000 fighting men, asserts that 50,000 Jewish warriors were slain in this battle of *Asoph*. Josephus reduces that number to 30,000; and, to use the words of the historian, "the blunted weapons of the victors dropped from their hands before they would listen to the cries for quarter." Even the harmless villages on the Jordan, filled with women and children, did not escape the merciless havoc. The son of Physcon ordered them to be destroyed with circumstances of cruelty worthy of his monster-father. (Jos. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 12.) The whole of Judea now laid open to the invaders. Jannai, who had fought bravely and been among the last that quitted the destructive battle-field, was in no condition to defend his country; and though he exerted incredible activity in raising and arming the people, it is not likely that he could have offered a successful resistance, if Lathyrus's progress had not been prevented by a more powerful adversary.

Cleopatra had assembled a large army under her two generals, Chelkias and Ananias, Jews and kinsmen of Jannai being like him, *Cohanim*, descended from the sacerdotal race of Aaron. They were proceeding to Judea by forced marches, when the tidings of Jannai's defeat gave additional rapidity to their advance. At the same time, Queen Cleopatra, who hated her son, and who dreaded lest his conquering Judea might enable him to recover the crown of Egypt, embarked in person, and with a powerful army sailed for Ptolemais, still besieged by part of the forces of Lathyrus. Her arrival caused the siege to be raised; but the Ptolemeans, as suspicious of the queen

of Egypt as under like circumstances they had recently been of her son, refused to open their gates to their new and self-invited deliverer. Cleopatra determined to vanquish their obstinacy. Her forces, under the command of Ananias, blockaded Ptolemais by sea and invested it by land; so that in less than three years the same city was successively besieged by three mutually hostile armies.

Another division of Cleopatra's forces, under the command of Chelkias, marched against Lathyrus. But as the queen's general died during this expedition, her son and enemy availed himself of the confusion the suspension of the chief command caused in her army, to advance hastily toward Egypt. He hoped that in consequence of the large force sent into Judea, he might find the Egyptian frontier garrisons drained of defenders and unable to resist his advance. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed; he therefore prudently, and before his mother's troops could assume a position to intercept him, retreated toward Gaza, and placed his troops in winter-quarters in that friendly stronghold.

In the mean time Ptolemais surrendered to Cleopatra. Her hostile son had not ventured to keep the field before her forces. King Jannai, whose exertions to raise a new army had been much thwarted by the Pharisees, felt how entirely dependent he was upon the favour of her whom the fortune of war had rendered absolute mistress of his kingdom. He therefore came to Ptolemais with magnificent presents to thank her for the deliverance she had wrought for him, and to solicit the continuance of her protection. He was received with every outward mark of respect and kindness. But the queen's Greek courtiers strongly urged her not to neglect this favourable opportunity of securing the possession of Judea, by seizing on the person of Jannai, or putting him to death.

Ambitious and unscrupulous as she was, this odious and

infamous suggestion did not shock or even displease her; and she would doubtless have caused it to be carried into effect, had she not been prevented by the interposition of Ananias, who exerted all the weight of his high character and recent services to prevent her yielding to so flagitious a counsel. He prevailed, not so much by an appeal to justice and a regard for her reputation, as by pointing out to her fears how detested such an act of treachery would make her to all Jews, many thousands of which people were even then serving in her army and near her person. These reasons, and the one great merit in her estimation which Jannai possessed of being the irreconcilable enemy of her son Lathyrus, induced her not only to forego her purpose, but also to enter into a treaty of alliance with the king of Judea, which not only secured him against his foreign enemies, but enabled him with renewed vigour to resume his sway over his discontented subjects.

The queen of Egypt remained at Ptolemais until her son Lathyrus, finding it impossible to maintain his ground against the overwhelming force that on all sides threatened him, sailed back to Cyprus. On her return to Alexandria she treated her younger son and co-sovereign, Alexander, with such indignity that he fled secretly from her presence, determined thenceforth to lead a private life in exile, rather than bear the empty name of king in his native country. About the same time Cleopatra learned that a common enmity to the Jews had occasioned a close friendship between her son Lathyrus and her son-in-law Cyzicenus. A treaty of alliance concluded between the two princes at Damascus had for its object—1st. To secure to Lathyrus every assistance that the whole disposable force of Cyzicenus could afford, to enable Lathyrus to recover the crown of which he had been deprived by the cruel artifices of his mother. 2d. In the event of Lathyrus's success, the two princes were to unite their forces to invade

and conquer Palestine, which was to be divided between them, the king of Egypt receiving the southern portion, Judea and Idumea, with Jerusalem, and the king of Damascus taking for his share the northern parts, Samaria, Galilee, and Iturea, (Justin. lib. xxxix. cap. 4.)

To ward off these blows, Cleopatra sent into Syria her favourite daughter Selené, the wife whom she had first forced on Lathyrus, and of whom she is said afterward as forcibly to have deprived him. She was now given in marriage to A. Grypus, the perpetual rival of Cyzicenus; and the first fruit of her union with the king of Antioch was a furious war, which broke out between him and his brother of Damascus, and which proved equally destructive to both rivals. Grypus was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his courtiers, who aspired to ascend his throne, but was prevented by Cyzicenus. He, after obtaining momentary possession of Antioch, was defeated and slain by Seleucus VI., the eldest of the five sons of Grypus. Thenceforth, and for nearly twenty years, the two branches of the Seleucidæ of Antioch and Damascus were involved in unceasing conflicts and assassinations, until their subjects deprived them of royalty and chose foreign rulers.

Cleopatra herself, though successful in frustrating the alliance between her son and son-in-law, did not escape the punishment due to her many crimes. She had been compelled by the turbulent Alexandrians to invite the return of her son Alexander, and to restore to him his seat on the throne, though still as unwilling as ever to resign to him any portion of her power. But this youngest son of Physcon, resembling his father both in person and disposition, grew tired of being held in perpetual leading-strings. His mother, who perceived his impatience and dreaded his designs, determined to remove him either by poison or the dagger; but her crime was anticipated by that of her unnatural son, who stabbed her to the heart.

Her murder was no sooner known, than the Alexandrians flew to arms, and invited Lathyrus to return and ascend the throne. He came, and after a struggle punished the foul matricide, who was captured and put to death by his orders. After that Lathyrus, or, as he was now called, Ptolemy VIII. Soter, reigned peaceably eight years, and at his death bequeathed his kingdom to his only daughter; but did not after his restoration in any way interfere in the affairs of Judea.

The retreat of Lathyrus and the return of Cleopatra to Egypt left Jannai in possession of all his dominions, strengthened, moreover, by her alliance and by a considerable body of her veteran mercenaries, whom she permitted to take service with him. As he thus felt himself as powerful as ever, he did not hesitate to give vent to his indignation against the Pharisees, who in the hour of his distress had withheld their assistance, and even sought to thwart his measures of defence. He therefore not only renewed the edicts of his father Hyrcanus against the observance of traditions, and which he had permitted to fall into desuetude, but issued other and more stringent prohibitions, which still further exasperated that sect.

At the same time he persisted in the policy of Hyrcanus, and exerted himself to the utmost to reconquer the ancient territories of Israel. As Ptolemais had become a possession of his powerful ally, the queen of Egypt, and was thus placed beyond his reach, he crossed the Jordan and directed his arms first against *Gadara*, which he took after a siege of ten months. He next attacked and in much less time took *Amathus*, another strongly-fortified city east of Jordan, and in which Theodotus, tyrant or prince of *Rabbath-Ammon* or *Philadelphia*, had deposited an immense treasure. But on his return he was waylaid by Theodotus, who, having got together a numerous army, unexpectedly fell upon Jannai, routed his forces, inflicted

on him a loss of ten thousand men, and recovered not only all the treasure which Jannai had taken at Amathus, but also captured the whole of Jannai's baggage, beside considerable booty from the Jewish army. On his return to Jerusalem, the king of Judea found the Pharisees publicly exulting in his miscarriage, and taking every occasion to vilify him to the people, and to make his crown sit uneasy on his head.

But Jannai was not the man to be overcome by adversity, or to be daunted by the intrigues of his enemies. Having recruited his forces, he again marched forth from Jerusalem; and as if he were determined to obliterate the stigma of previous miscarriages by the greatness and splendour of future success, he directed his operations against *Gaza*, one of the most wealthy and populous commercial towns near the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

This city had provoked the extreme rancour of Jannai for many reasons. The citizens of Gaza had been among the foremost to join those of Ptolemais to invite Lathyrus; and when that invader had been hard pressed by the united forces of Egypt and Judea, Gaza had received and sheltered him within her strong walls. His retreat left the devoted city exposed to the vengeance of the implacable Jannai, who no sooner had acquired the certainty that he had nothing to fear from the alliance between Lathyrus and A. Cyzicenus, than he prepared to gratify at once his hatred and his ambition by the conquest of Gaza. He began by besieging and taking *Raphia* and *Antedon*, two places situated near and dependent on Gaza, (97 B. C. E.;) and as he now was in a condition to invest that city from the land side, he sat down before it in the spring of the next year with a powerful army.

The citizens had placed themselves under the command of Apollodotus, a man of great bravery and experience;

and as they knew how exasperated the king of Judea was against them, their courage and perseverance were exerted to the utmost to give due effect to the skill of their enterprising commander. On one occasion he led them on to a sally so successful that the besieging army was nearly routed; and it was only by the utmost exertions of prowess that Jannai could force the besieged to retreat into the city, after having inflicted great loss on his army. The defence was successfully maintained during one full year; and as Jannai could not, from want of shipping, blockade their port or prevent their receiving supplies by sea, and their walls were still unbreached, the men of Gaza might have held out much longer had not the brave governor been treacherously murdered by his own brother, Lysimachus, who then, to escape the rage of the citizens, betrayed the city to the king of Judea.

Jannai's conduct on the occasion is described as most detestable. At first he pretended to feel great commiseration for the vanquished, and even led them to hope that his clemency would be extended to them, as had been that of his grandfather Simon on a similar occasion. But they soon were undeceived; for, either to gratify his own rancour, or to reward the perils to which his mercenaries had been exposed during the siege, he gave up to them the city and its inhabitants. These ruffian hirelings at once and most furiously began to slaughter young and old, men and women. The Gazæans, however, had not yet been completely disarmed; and seeing that they had to expect no mercy for their wives and children any more than for themselves, they seized upon such weapons as yet remained within their reach, and stood on their defence so desperately, that the number of the assailants slain was almost equal to that of the citizens they cut down. When at length the horrid butchery ceased, Jannai ordered Gaza to be razed to the ground, (96 B. C. E.;) and in that condi-

tion this ancient and celebrated city remained until rebuilt by the Roman proconsul Gabinius, some forty years later.

On Jannai's return to Jerusalem, he found that his enemies, the Pharisees, had availed themselves of his absence still further to exasperate the Jewish people against the Sadducee king; and that the report of his cruelty at Gaza had by no means raised him in the love or estimation of his subjects. At length their long-stifled animosity broke out into open insult, and approached to the very verge of rebellion. It was at the Feast of Tabernacles, (95 B. C. E.,) one of the three great annual festivals, on which almost the whole male population of Judea assembled at Jerusalem to join in public worship.

On the last day of the festival, King Jannai in person, as high-priest, and clad in the sumptuous robes of his office, was officiating at the altar of burnt-offering, surrounded by a numerous retinue of *cohanim*, (priests,) while an immense multitude of people thronged the courts of the temple and all the avenues leading to the temple-mount, every man carrying in his hand a *loolab*, palm-branch, and an *ethrog*, citron.

Now, respecting the manner in which one portion of the service of the day was to be performed, a violent dispute subsisted between the sect of the Pharisees and that of the Sadducees. According to the former, the libation poured on the altar on that day was, in addition to the usual drink-offering of wine, also to consist of a quantity of water. It is true that the Law of Moses, or the "written Law," nowhere commands any such libation; but it was done on the authority of tradition, which declares it to be "a direction of Moses from Sinai;" that is to say, an observance verbally commanded by the Lord to Moses, and by him verbally transmitted to the children of Israel, and always kept up by them. This the Sadducees de-

nied, in conformity with their principle of rejecting the divine authority of any tradition.

King Jannai, a rigid and unyielding adherent to the opinions of the Sadducees, performed the libation according to their tenets, pouring the wine on the altar, and spilling the water on the ground. This was noticed by the people, and roused the indignation of the numerous Pharisees present. One of them, in the rage of his zeal, flung his citron at the king and struck him on the forehead.[10] This became the signal for a general outbreak on the part of the multitude. They began to pelt the king's retinue, and at the same time to revile him in the most opprobrious terms, while the Pharisees shouted that "such a slave as he was unworthy to be either king or high-priest." Their abusing Jannai as a slave was in allusion to the charge which Eleazar, the Pharisee, had brought against the mother of Hyrcanus, that she had been a captive (slave) among the heathens, and as such was under the legal suspicion of having yielded to the lust of her captors—a suspicion which, according to the Pharisee interpretation of the law, could only be removed by positive evidence.

This second insult called forth the king's anger even in a higher degree than the pelting, as it showed a deliberate determination on the part of the Pharisees to insult

[10] Rough as was this usage of the king and his retinue, it was mild compared with that inflicted on another Sadducee priest on a similar occasion. The Talmud (tr. *Succah* fo. 13 B) relates: "Once it happened that the officiating priest was a Sadducee; therefore, instead of pouring the water on the altar, according to the ritual established by tradition, he, in conformity with the tenets of his sect, spilt the water on the ground, while he poured the drink-offering of wine on the altar. This manœuvre, however, did not escape the notice of the populace, and caused such general and violent exasperation, that the offending priest was actually pelted to death with the citrons which, in observance of the festival, every man carried in his hand."

his grandmother and to bastardize his father in their graves, and by implication to deprive him and his descendants forever of every right to crown or priesthood. Enraged beyond measure, and apprehensive that this outbreak was but the signal for a preconcerted rebellion, the king—who, according to the severe and rigid tenets of his sect, denied pity or mercy to offenders, or to those whom he deemed such—suspended the service, and ordered his guards to charge the unarmed multitude. The order was obeyed with such fury that six thousand of the people were slain on the spot, and the survivors dispersed and fled from Jerusalem. Thus the disturbance was for a time quelled in blood. To prevent the like results in future, the king caused the priests' court, which contained the altar and sanctuary, to be enclosed by a strong wooden partition, that prevented the approach of the people; and for his greater security, he took into his pay an additional body of six thousand mercenaries out of Pisidia and Cilicia. Indeed, his numerous foreign soldiers soon became his only support, as he found to his grief that his excessive severity only tended more strongly to exasperate his people against him.

Jannai's restless disposition, aggravated by the sullen carriage which the citizens of Jerusalem maintained toward him, impelled him once more to quit his capital and palace, and at the head of his army to go forth to make new conquests; for he felt that the only sentiment which his people possessed in common with him, and which might recommend him to their better opinion, was the desire to recover the ancient territories of Israel. He therefore again crossed the Jordan and advanced against Amathus. But so great was the terror of his arms become after his conquest of Gaza, that his former opponent and victor, Theodotus, did not attempt to defend the place. Removing his treasure and garrison, he left the king of Judea

at liberty to occupy Amathus. After demolishing the fortifications of this city, Jannai next subdued the Arab tribes and mountaineers of Gilead, on whom, and also on the Moabites, he imposed an annual tribute. He then turned his arms against Obodas, chief of the Arab tribes in Gaulonitis. In this enterprise, however, he miscarried, and fell into an ambush in the mountains near Gadara. His army was driven over the precipices and utterly destroyed, while he himself with difficulty escaped. (92 B. C. E.)

This was the second great army that Jannai had lost; and when he returned to Jerusalem, defeated and almost alone, he found that the tidings of his discomfiture had preceded him, and had rendered his enemies more bold and enraged than they had ever been before. The Pharisees, at all times so jealous of the national honor, declared aloud that this disgrace had befallen the Jews because they permitted a "base-born slave and a Sadducee unbeliever to usurp the two crowns of royalty and of priesthood." The people, excited almost to madness, assumed a threatening attitude, and began to arm. A successful and glorious Sadducee they might have borne; but an unsuccessful one, whose repeated defeats disgraced the national fame, was not to be tolerated. The king's efforts to put down the *emeute* only served to increase the tumult, until it broke out into open insurrection, and a civil war commenced which continued full six years, and raged through every part of Judea.

Jannai and his councillors were too experienced to be taken by surprise, and too warlike to yield to a popular outbreak. His still rich treasury enabled him soon again to fill the ranks of his mercenaries; and his emissaries and agents were so active in procuring foreign recruits, that his rebellious subjects—repeatedly defeated, and finding that they possessed no leader competent to cope with

the warlike king, and that their military appointments were so greatly inferior to his as to leave no reasonable hopes of success—at length called in to their aid and placed at their head Demetrius Eucærus, the fourth son of Antiochus Grypus, who reigned at Damascus.[11] They likewise endeavoured to form a league with the Arabians of Gilead and the Moabites, whom Jannai had rendered tributary, but whose tribute he was now obliged to remit

[11] We have already stated that after the assassination of Antiochus Grypus, his half-brother, A. Cyzicenus—having punished the murderer and usurper Heracleon—obtained momentary possession of Antioch, but was in his turn defeated by Seleucus VI., the son of Grypus, and was either slain in battle, or put to death by the victor, or committed suicide; for historians do not agree as to the mode of his death. (93 B.C.E.) While Seleucus was engaged in the design of bringing the whole of Syria under his power, he was attacked and defeated by Antiochus Eusebes, a son of Cyzicenus. King Seleucus, driven out of Syria, sought refuge in the city of Mopsuestia, in Cilicia; but attempting to extort money from the citizens, was burnt by them in his house. Antiochus, the second son of Grypus and brother of Seleucus, attempted to recover his inheritance from Eusebes, but was drowned in crossing a river, and his whole army cut to pieces. After him, his twin-brother Philip, the third son of Grypus, obtained and maintained possession of a portion of Syria, while Eusebes strengthened his party by a marriage with Selené, widow of Grypus, who held another and very considerable part of the kingdom. But this marriage exposed him to the resentment of Lathyrus, who, as already related, had been the husband of Selené. This prince, to punish Eusebes, called Demetrius, the fourth son of Grypus, from his retreat at Cnidas, where he had been educated, and sent him at the head of a body of Greek mercenaries to Damascus. He was well received by the people, and there he assumed the diadem under the title of Demetrius III. *Eucærus*, an epithet denoting the seasonableness of his appearance in arms. Eusebes had taken the field against Philip; but the alliance of the two brothers and the valor of their Greek auxiliaries, proved too strong for him. He was defeated and forced to cross the Euphrates, where he solicited and obtained the protection of the Parthians, who, under the great Mithridates II., had extended their conquests to the eastern bank of that river. After the retreat of Eusebes, the two brothers divided the kingdom—Philip taking up his residence at Antioch, and Demetrius at Damascus. (92 B.C.E.)

to prevent their hostilities, while he collected all the forces he could muster, and marched against the king of Damascus.

This powerful auxiliary had entered Judea and joined the rebels at the head of a considerable body of veterans, so that the army united under his command numbered forty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Jannai, who had exerted to the utmost his own influence and that of his Sadducee courtiers to induce the Jews to take up arms in his defence, had succeeded in raising twenty thousand Jews, and had also a body of six thousand Greek auxiliaries. The two armies remained encamped some time before coming to blows, while each of the two kings tried to seduce and to gain over a portion of the troops opposed to him. Demetrius sought to corrupt the Greek mercenaries in Jannai's army by the promise of larger pay and privileges; while Jannai was equally busy in trying to open the eyes of the Jews in Demetrius' army to the danger which threatened the independence of Judea from their alliance with the hereditary enemy of their country. The efforts of both were equally fruitless. Nothing, therefore, remained but to try the fate of battle. According to the fourth book of Maccabees, (ch. xxix.,) the result was greatly in Jannai's favour. But, according to the more consistent and probable account of Josephus, (Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 21,) Jannai's army was totally routed. It seems that the Jews in his own army offered but little resistance to their rebel countrymen; and that their flight caused his Greek mercenaries to be cut down to a man. (88 B.C.E.)

His utter ruin seemed inevitable, when, as Josephus relates, those Jews in the Syrian army who had been proof against all his arguments and promises before the battle was fought, now, after his defeat, felt such compassion for him in his distress, that several thousands of them abandoned the Syrian standard and in a body joined Jannai;

so that Demetrius became fearful lest the defection of the Jews would become general, and he be attacked by the entire force of Judea. At the same time he was informed that his brother Philip had taken advantage of his absence to invade his kingdom. He therefore at once withdrew from Judea, and marched back to Damascus to repel his brother.

Such is the account which Josephus gives of this singular transaction, and which is anything but satisfactory. We cannot believe that the state of distress to which his rebellious subjects deliberately and with great difficulty had reduced their detested king, Jannai, could of itself have been sufficient to excite their commiseration to that degree that of their own accord they undid their own work and restored their great adversary to power. We rather incline to the opinion that their pity was extended, not so much to the king, as to the kingdom. At this distance of time, and with no better information than we possess, it is impossible even to surmise by what act of indiscretion King Demetrius alarmed his Jewish allies, and aroused their suspicion to that degree that the danger which King Jannai had before pointed out to them in vain now suddenly became manifest to their sensitive love of independence, and proved to them that the ruin of their native king must inevitably lead to the subjugation of their country by their foreign ally. Possibly they expected that King Jannai, convinced by fatal experience how little the aid of his hireling guards could avail him against the hatred of a whole nation, would yield to the wishes of the people; perhaps they thought that the leaders of the Pharisees—seeing that a number of their own adherents had joined the king—might be willing to consent to terms which the king would readily grant. It is only apprehensions and views like these that can explain or reconcile us to the idea of rebels in the full tide of success hasten-

ing to undo their own work, and to support a sovereign till then the object of their implacable resentment.

But if such were the expectations which influenced the Jewish warriors that quitted the standard of King Demetrius, they were doomed to be disappointed. Never, throughout the manifold vicissitudes of his long and checkered career, had Jannai evinced so indomitable a spirit, nor yet the large resources which he found within himself, and which enabled him, directly after the retreat of the king of Damascus, to rally his broken forces, and to recommence, with increased vigour and success, his operations against his rebellious subjects and their detested leaders, the Pharisees. But never, likewise, had these Pharisees evinced such violent and determined opposition, such unyielding and relentless rancour, as maddened them after the retreat of Demetrius left them unaided to encounter the power and abilities of Jannai.

After fifty thousand of the insurgents and a number of his own adherents, almost equally great, had perished by the sword, King Jannai, weary of slaughter, and justly appreciating the ruinous nature of a contest in which his very victories were destructive alike to his country and people, became anxious to bring matters to a pacification. He therefore spared no pains, and was prodigal of offers and of promises, to induce the rebels to lay down their arms. But so infuriate were they, that every advance on his part served but to harden them the more. In order to leave no means untried, he sent a deputation of his friends to the rebel camp to declare that he was ready to make any sacrifice for the sake of peace, and to ascertain what they required, pledging himself to grant whatever in reason and justice the insurgents could demand. To the inquiry of his friends, "What the king could do to satisfy the people?"—"DIE!" was the answer given with such vehemence, fury, and unanimity, as showed him there was no

hope of accommodation. Some of the rebels scoffingly added, that "the king ought to think highly of them, since they were willing to accept his death as a sufficient compensation for all the blood he had shed and the mischief he had brought upon the nation." Josephus (Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 21) places this interchange of messages before the invasion of Demetrius. But the fourth Maccabees (ch. xxix.) places it after the retreat of the Syrian, and when Jannai had already gained several victories; and we prefer in this instance the latter authority, as most in accordance with the proud and energetic character of Jannai, who could never have consented to solicitations so submissive, unless his success and superiority had been such as to convince the world that the large concessions he offered were not wrung from him by fear, but freely granted by his clemency.

At length (87 B. C. E.) the war between the king and the insurgents was brought to a close by a decisive battle, in which the royalists gained a signal victory. The greater portion of the insurgent army was destroyed. The remnant that escaped, and the leaders that survived, shut themselves up in Bethome, a stronghold near the field of battle, to which place the king immediately laid siege. After a long and desperate defence, it was taken the year after, and the principal leaders of the insurrection fell into the power of their merciless victor. King Louis XI. of France once declared that the scent most grateful to his nostrils was that emitted by the carcasses of slain enemies. King Jannai, though he said nothing so inhuman, did that which was to the full as detestable.

If we are to believe Josephus, he caused eight hundred of the principal captives to be carried to Jerusalem, where he crucified them all in one day and in one place. He then put their wives and children to death before their eyes, as they hung dying on the crosses, while he himself,

with his wife and concubines, sat feasting within view of the horrid scene, to glut his eyes with the torments of his enemies. Certainly, as Kitto justly remarks, "the existence of a man who could do this was an evil upon earth, and seems alone sufficient to induce the suspicion that there was good cause for the intense dislike with which he was regarded by the people." The nickname of *Thracidas*, which thenceforth and justly was given to him, was even too good for him, though that people, the Thracians, were proverbially infamous above all nations for their dreadful barbarities.

CHAPTER XII.

Triumph of the Sadducee-Royalists—The Pharisee-Senatorials reduced to the lowest ebb—Simon Ben Shetahh; his exile and return; gradually revives his party—Epuration of the Sanhedrin—The Caraites—The last years of Jannai's reign; his last advice to his wife; his death—Alexandra queen-regnant of Judea—The Pharisees restored to power—The Sadducees persecuted—Mithridates the Great; his wars against Rome—The sons of Jannai; Hyrcanus II., high-priest, Pharisee—Aristobulus II., warrior, Sadducee—Tigranes, King of Armenia, proposes to invade Judea; prevented by the Romans—Death of Alexandra—Hyrcanus II, king and high-priest—Rigid government of the Pharisees—Revolution—Hyrcanus abdicates—Aristobulus II., king—His prosperous reign—The Sadducees in power—Antipater the Idumean; his origin; his influence over Hyrcanus—Conspires with the Pharisees to dethrone Aristobulus—Flight of Hyrcanus; his treaty with Aretas, King of the Arabs—Aretas invades Judea; defeats Aristobulus, and besieges him in the Temple of Jerusalem, while the city declares for Hyrcanus—Incidents of the siege; death of Hhoniah Hamangol—Intervention of the Romans—Aristobulus defeats Aretas—Conference at Damascus—The two brothers plead their cause before Pompey—The Romans enter Judea.—(From 85 to 63 B. C. E.)

AFTER this horrid butchery—which, however, rests on no other or better authority than that of Jannai's implacable enemies, and among them chiefly on that of Josephus—the spirit of insurrection was effectually put down in Judea, so that during the remainder of Jannai's reign and life he was molested by no civil commotion. A body of 8000 malecontents, horror-struck at the tiding of his cruelties, dispersed on the very night following the executions, and sought refuge beyond the confines of Judea—some in Egypt, and some among the independent tribes of Arabia. The number of Jewish exiles in this country thus became very

great, and comprised several of the ablest and most influential chiefs of the senatorial and Pharisee party, some of whom, though nearly related to the king, were especially obnoxious to him.

Among these the first rank is due to Simon, the son of Shetahh, *Nassi* or prince of the Sanhedrin, and brother-in-law of the king. The origin of the enmity between these two great dignitaries is thus related in the Jerusalem Talmud, (tr. Berachoth, fo. 18:) "In the days of Jannai the king, and of Simon the son of Shetahh, there happened to be at one time three hundred Nazarites, each of whom, at the completion of his vow, had to bring three sacrifices; so that together they wanted 300 rams and the same number of ewes and also of sheep. (Vide Num. vi. 14.) As all these Nazarites were poor, and did not possess the means of purchasing the animals they wanted, Simon the son of Shetahh proposed that if the king would furnish one-half of the sacrifices, he himself (Simon) would furnish the other half. The king consented, and at once sent 500 sheep to the temple. But previous to the time appointed for the offering Simon released one hundred and fifty of the Nazarites from their vow, so that they required no sacrifice; and, as the king had furnished more than was necessary for the remaining one hundred and fifty Nazarites, Simon had no occasion to contribute any thing. This subterfuge greatly offended the king; and Simon, who feared his wrath, fled from Jerusalem and hid himself."

Though this singular transaction is related in the Talmud —a work by no means favourable to Jannai, but in which the character and services of Simon are most highly spoken of—it appears to us that the conduct of the king, in this instance at least, appears far more praiseworthy than that of the president of the Sanhedrin. And while the narrative affords a proof of the fairness and veracity of Talmudic history, even where its truthfulness is most injuri-

ous to the men whom the Talmud most highly reveres, it confirms in our minds the doubt we have already expressed of the exceeding ferocity which that king's enemies have imputed to him. We confess to us it seems inconsistent that the king who has enough of human feeling to pity the distress of a body of strangers, should be so utterly devoid of humanity as to feast and banquet within sight of innocent children slaughtered before the eyes of their perishing fathers. To us it seems that such an atrocity is more easily invented by a heated imagination than perpetrated by any human being having the least affinity with human nature.

The account which the Babylonian Talmud (Ibid. fo. 48) gives of Simon's recall, is another proof that Jannai was not quite so black as he is generally painted: "King Jannai and his wife were one day seated at table. As the sages of Israel had all been put to death, or driven into exile, no one was present to say grace after the meal; on which the king remarked, 'I wish we had a man here who could say grace for us.' His wife replied, 'If I bring thee such a man, wilt thou swear to me that no harm shall befall him?' The king took the oath she required, and she sent for her brother Simon, the son of Shetahh. When he arrived the king received him kindly, and placed him in the seat of honour between himself and the queen, at the same time remarking, 'See how highly I honour thee.' To which Simon bluntly replied, 'It is not thou who dost honour me, but the Law does it; for it is written, "Exalt her (wisdom or knowledge of the Law) and she shall promote thee; she shall bring thee to honour when thou dost embrace her."' (Prov. iv. 8.) To which the king replied, 'At all events, thou dost see that I do not harbour resentment.' Simon then said grace."

During the continuance of the long civil war, the Pharisee members of the Sanhedrin had either been put to

death or driven into exile. But as it was indispensable to the legal existence of that council that it should be complete in number, and not consist of less than the president and seventy members, and as his own friends, the Sadducees, would by no means have permitted the suppression of the national council, Jannai took care to fill up every vacancy with creatures of his own; and, as by this means the Sanhedrin was altogether dependent on the king and submissive to his will, since none of its members possessed either learning or independence of character sufficient to gainsay him, Jannai, in fact, united within himself every power of the state—spiritual, executive, and legislative—and was thus the most absolute ruler that had ever governed the Jews.

This was a state of things to which Simon could by no means submit. The influence of the queen, not content with having obtained for him a free pardon and recall from exile, was still further exerted to obtain his readmission into the Sanhedrin; and once more received into that body, he naturally resumed his office of *Nasi* or president, from which indeed he had never been lawfully deposed, but which, under then existing circumstances, was altogether shorn of its legitimate power and authority. It therefore became the great end and aim of Simon's life—to which he devoted all his energies and all the efforts of a mind naturally quick-witted and fertile in resources, and fraught with learning beyond any of his contemporaries—to restore to the Sanhedrin its pristine independence, and to purge it of those unworthy intruders who had no claim to office except the will and pleasure of the king. This was an undertaking, however, which required the utmost caution and prudence. He was the chief of a defeated and broken party, destitute of followers, and surrounded by enemies. And though the king professed to harbour no resentment against him, it was

certain that the royal forbearance was extended to him solely through the influence of his sister, and would at once cease if the king for a moment should suspect his design.

Simon's mode of proceeding was slow but sure, because founded on a thorough knowledge of human nature and its foibles. The Talmud (*tr. Megillath Taanith* fo. 10) relates: "Once, Jannai, the king, and his queen, were present at the sitting of the Sanhedrin, all the members of which, with the exception of Simon the son of Shetahh, were Sadducees. Several important questions of law were propounded and discussed, but none of the members present was able to support his opinion by legal authority. Simon, as if impatient at their want of learning, exclaimed, 'Whosoever is not able to back his opinion by proofs deduced from Holy Writ, is unworthy of a seat in the Sanhedrin.' No one present presumed to contradict or answer him, except one old man, who required a day's time to consult the Law. But finding himself unable so to do, he felt ashamed, and did not again attend in his place in the Sanhedrin. When he stayed away, Simon remarked that as the Sanhedrin cannot pronounce judgment unless all the seventy-one members be present, it would be needful to appoint another assessor in the room of the absentee. He then proposed a man who was of his own disciples, and who, accordingly, was appointed. This plan he pursued whenever an opportunity offered. As his own adherents began to increase, he taunted the Sadducees more and more bitterly with their ignorance, until he caused them, one by one, to withdraw; and each vacancy that occurred he filled up with an orthodox assessor, so that gradually the Pharisees once more regained the majority in the Sanhedrin."

It will be perceived, that the first move toward this gradual purgation was made by Simon in the presence of

the king and queen. Thence the members of the Sanhedrin naturally inferred that their Pharisee president did not act without the sanction of the king; and as each member who withdrew felt ashamed to confess that a sense of his own ignorance had driven him from his seat in the Council, no complaint was laid before the king, whose absence from Jerusalem and subsequent long illness prevented him from visiting the Sanhedrin, and being struck by the number of new faces among its members. After the death of Jannai, and the restoration to power of the Pharisees, the anniversary of the day on which the orthodox majority in the senate was restored by Simon, came to be observed as one of national thanksgiving and public rejoicing.

We have dwelt at some length on this quiet revolution in the bosom of the Sanhedrin, because the Caraites, a sect of Jews that, like the Sadducees, deny the authority of tradition and the oral Law, though, unlike them, they admit the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead, maintain that the introduction of the oral Law and the authority of tradition took place at this very time, when Simon the son of Shetahh was the sole survivor of the sages of Israel.

This sect of the Caraites, which is still in existence, though not at all numerous, and has its chief seat at *Backtcheserai*, in the *Crimea*, was founded about the year 640 C. E. by one Anan and his son Saul. But they claim for themselves a much higher antiquity,[12] and assert that

[12] This claim to antiquity on the part of the Caraites receives no support from any contemporary authority, as their sect is never mentioned in the Talmud, nor yet by Josephus or the New Testament. *P. Beer*, however, in his *Geschichte Lehren und Meinungen aller Religiosen Sekten der Juden*, (History, Doctrines, and Opinions of all Religious Sects among the Jews,) vol. i. p. 125, contends that the Caraites are spoken of in the New Testament, and that the expression *nomikos* and *nomodidascalos*, "lawyers,"

they existed in the times of the second temple, but that the malice of the Pharisees suppresses their name, and everywhere in the Talmud confounds their sect with that of the Sadducees, with whom, however, they profess to have nothing in common, except their refusal to recognise the authority of the oral Law, or the traditions of the fathers. These traditions they assert were first introduced by Simon the son of Shetahh, who, they say, had sought refuge in Egypt from the persecution of Jannai. "During his sojourn in Egypt, where he remained several years, he adopted many mystic expositions of Holy Writ from the sects of the Essenes and from the Hellenists. When, through the influence of his sister the queen, he was permitted to return to Jerusalem, and was placed at the head of the Sanhedrin, he promulgated the expositions and doctrines which he had adopted in Egypt, and from which he derived various precepts and laws. And in order to give the greater authority to his enactments, he pretended that they were revelations made by God to Moses on Mount Sinai, which had been verbally transmitted from teacher to teacher, and of which, as the sole surviving recipient, he was alone the depositary." (Heb. Rev. vol. iii. 238.)

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which there often occurs, can apply to no other sect than the Caraites, the rigid adherents of the written Law. According to him, these lawyers are always mentioned in contradistinction to the Pharisees and Sadducees; consequently they cannot have belonged to either of these two sects; that probably they obtained the designation "lawyer," because their studies were altogether limited to the written Law, whereas the Pharisees chiefly devoted themselves to the study of the traditions; that their present designation Caraites, from the Hebrew *Kara*, denotes "adherents of the written text," "Textarians;" while they call their antagonists *Mekoobalim*, from the Hebrew *Kabel*, denoting "receivers of the traditions," "Traditionarians." So that if their present designation were again to be rendered into Greek, it would still be *nomikos*, the word designating them in the New Testament.

Now this statement of the Caraites is well contrived, and appears so plausible, that in our times it has found ready credence with many, especially among those who cannot consult the historical data scattered through the Talmud. The Caraites are bound to fix upon some precise period when the novelty, as they contend it was, of tradition or an oral Law was first introduced among the Jews; and they cannot find any period of time better suited to their purpose than that when the sages of Israel had been put to death by Jannai, so that Simon, as the Caraites aver, stood alone the sole survivor of the old, and the father of a new race of teachers; the sage to whose guardianship the Law, with all that thereunto appertained, had been transmitted by his predecessor, *Nithai* the *Arbelite*, second president of the Sanhedrin.

Were the Caraites to assert that any other teacher had claimed divine authority for his own precepts, by pretending that these were traditions received from Moses and Sinai, and that his pretensions had been sanctioned by the body of the people, the assertion would appear incredible, as it cannot for one instant be assumed that all the contemporary sages and teachers of Israel would have approved of his pretensions, or have consented to have become parties to his innovation; and the opposition of any number of sages, or even of one or two teachers of acknowledged piety and erudition, must have proved fatal to such a scheme. When, therefore, the Caraites fix upon Simon the son of Shetahh, they expect to remove the obstacle which the certain opposition of other contemporary teachers presents to the credibility of their assertion; for after his return to the Sanhedrin there was no one in that body of sufficient authority to gainsay him.

The period of time is therefore well chosen, and the whole story well contrived; but it will not stand the test of historical investigation. The two sects of Pharisees

and Sadducees were not called into being by innovations or traditions first introduced by Simon the son of Shetahh, but had existed long before him. The main point at issue between these two great sects was, and always had been, no other than that very authority of tradition which, as the Caraites would have us believe, was first invented by this Simon, but which in fact, and long before him, had been denied by the Sadducees and upheld by the Pharisees.

Moreover, the Talmud (*tr. Sotah fo.* 46) tells us that, "at the time Jannai the king put the sages of Israel to death, the queen concealed her brother (Simon the son of Shetahh) in a place of safety, while his teacher, Joshua the son of Perackiah, fled to Egypt." From the shelter which this concealment had afforded Simon, the queen summoned him to take his seat at the royal board, and subsequently, when the king's wrath subsided, Simon succeeded in obtaining a pardon for Joshua, who was permitted to return to Jerusalem.

Thus the Caraite statement is untrue in two important particulars, on which, indeed, the whole weight of it rests: Simon the son of Shetahh did not seek refuge in Egypt, and therefore could not there have adopted Essene or Hellenist doctrines. He was not the only survivor of the carnage, as his teacher and predecessor, as president of the Sanhedrin, Joshua ben Perackiah, also escaped. As he was superior in age, influence, and authority to his disciple Simon, it is not possible that the latter could have succeeded in his scheme in spite of Joshua's opposition; and that this opposition would have been exerted to the utmost, the Caraites cannot deny, since they claim Joshua as one of the pillars of their sect. Consequently, even admitting the claim of the Caraites to an antiquity coeval with that of the other three sects, it cannot be denied that in reality they are a surviving branch of the great Sadducee sect, preferring the philosophy of Zeno to that of Epicurus,

admitting the doctrines of the immortality of the soul and of the resurrection of the dead. But that their attempt to assign a date to the first introduction among the Jews, of the authority of tradition, is a complete failure, since it not only is destitute of all real support from history, but even receives the fullest contradiction from well-established historical facts.

While Simon, the chief of the vanquished Pharisees, was thus slowly, imperceptibly, but industriously, working to recover for his party some portion at least of its former influence, King Jannai, restless as ever, and triumphant over his rebellious subjects, prepared his forces for a campaign against the Moabites and Arabians of Gilead, whom he had already once rendered tributary, but who, during the rebellion, had extorted from him a remission of their tribute by the threat of joining the rebels. He was, however, prevented from immediately taking the field by a sudden inroad of the Syrians under Antiochus XII. Dionysus.[13] As this prince, who reigned at Damascus, had

[13] After his retreat from Judea, (86 B. C. E.,) Demetrius III. Eucærus marched against his brother Philip, who had attacked Damascus, and whose allies, the Parthians, defeated Demetrius and carried him off to Parthia, where, though treated with respect, he soon died. Philip was thus left sole master of Antioch and Damascus; but his fickle allies, the Parthians, enabled his cousin Eusebes to make head against him, and to recover a considerable portion of Syria. While these two competitors were contending for supremacy, the youngest of the five Syrian brothers, Antiochus XII. Dionysus, asserted his right of succession to the throne of Damascus, vacant by the captivity and death of Demetrius. The favour of the citizens and of the people of Cœle-Syria generally enabled him to make good his claim, and to maintain himself against his two rivals, until he fell in battle against the Arabs, as related in the text. After his death, the Cœle-Syrians, dreading the resentment of Philip, and despairing of protection from Eusebes, called to the throne of Damascus the very Arab chief by whom Antiochus XII. Dionysus had been vanquished and slain. His Arab name *Haleth* was Hellenized into *Aretas*, as Josephus called him, (Antiq. fo. 64, lib. xiii. cap. 14,) and he is praised for his attainments in

suffered much from the rapacious attacks of the roving hordes of Arabia Petræa, he determined to seek them in their own home, and to reduce them to subjection. For this purpose he led his army along the coast of Palestine and through a part of Judea, which indeed was the only road he could take. At his approach Jannai became alarmed, and suspected that, notwithstanding his professions of friendship, the king of Damascus entertained some design against Judea.

To obstruct his advance, but without coming to open and decided hostilities, seemed the most advisable course; and Jannai, with incredible speed and great labour, caused an entrenchment to be dug from the town of *Capharsaba* (subsequently called *Antipatris*) to the sea near Joppa, nearly twenty miles in length. This entrenchment he provided with a wall and wooden towers at convenient distances, in which he placed strong garrisons. But the king of Damascus was not to be diverted from his purpose. He set fire to the towers, forced his way through the garrisons, crossed the trench, and continued his march southward, until he was encountered by the Arabs under their emir or prince Haleth. A desperate battle ensued, in which the king of Damascus and the greater part of his army were cut to pieces.

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elegant learning by Strabo, (lib. xvi. p. 581.) The example of Damascus was shortly afterward followed by Antioch and other Syrian cities. Weary of the crimes and calamities of the Seleucidæ, the people chose for their sovereign Tigranes, King of Armenia. Amid the disorders immediately preceding this election, Phillip appears to have perished, since his name thenceforth disappears from history. Eusebes saved himself by flight, and continued to lurk in an obscure corner of Cilicia till his death. His queen Selene, however, had spirit and talent sufficient to maintain herself in possession of some parts of Syria. In her strongholds in *Comagene*, she maintained herself full twelve years, until murdered at the instigation of Tigranes; and educated in splendour her two sons, the sole surviving heirs of the great Seleucus Nicator.

Jannai, thus finding himself relieved from any dread of the Syrians, at once took the field, crossed the Jordan, and commenced operations against the Moabites. This, however, brought against him a new enemy. The Arab emir Haleth or Aretas, who, after his victory over Dionysus, had been invited to, and had accepted the throne of Damascus, marched into Judea. Jannai hastened to oppose him, but was defeated with considerable loss at *Adida*, a fortified city at no great distance from Jerusalem. But Aretas was in no condition to take advantage of his success, or even to continue the campaign in Judea. Threatened by the powerful king of Armenia, Tigranes, whom the Antiochians, imitating the example of Damascus, had elected king of Syria, Aretas deemed it most prudent to make peace with Jannai, sacrificing the tribes beyond Jordan to his arms, and to hasten back to Damascus to defend his own kingdom.

Jannai, who never was more formidable than after defeat and in adversity, had no sooner got rid of his Arab invader, than he hastened back across the Jordan. In three successful campaigns he reconquered nearly all the lands that the Israelites of old had possessed beyond that river. The strong city of *Dion* was taken by assault. In *Essa* (also called *Gerasa*,) around which city the king of Judea built a treble wall, and which at last he took by storm, the treasures of Theodotus, which he had once before gained and again lost, now finally rewarded his perseverance. The inhabitants of *Pella*, who, when vanquished, refused to embrace Judaism, were expelled from their city, which was demolished. Demetrius, tyrant or prince of *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, *Gamala*, and the valley of *Antiochus*, who had been guilty of many foul deeds, was stripped of his dominions and carried captive to Jerusalem. And when Jannai returned in triumph to his capital, he was received with loud acclamations by his people, while no factious

Pharisee dared by word or gesture to question the right and glory of the conqueror.

The last three years of Jannai's reign were less glorious. He is accused of having, on his return to Jerusalem, abandoned himself to drinking and debauchery to such an excess that it speedily brought on a quartan ague, from which he never after recovered. But neither his pleasures nor his distempers could curb his restless spirit, or satisfy his cravings for conquest. Exhausted as he was by sickness and debauchery, he led his army once more across the Jordan, and laid siege to *Ragaba*, a strong fortress in the land of the *Gergesenes*. But in his camp before that stronghold he was summoned to render an account of his stewardship. He died in the forty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-seventh of his turbulent reign, (79 B. C. E.) That reign, notwithstanding its manifold vicissitudes, must be deemed successful in its foreign relations and its ultimate results, enlarged dominion, and internal prosperity. At the time of his death, his subjects had become reconciled to his reign. While the kingdom of Judea included Mount Carmel and all the coast as far as Rinocolura, it embraced on the south all Idumea; northward it extended to Mount Tabor, and beyond Jordan it comprehended Gaulonitis and all the territory of Gadara, including the land of the Moabites on the south, and extending as far as Pella in the east. "What a subject would there have been here for a lofty panegyric, had the historian been a Sadducee, or the prince a Pharisee! And how truly is the saying verified, *cedant arma togæ!*" (Universal History, vol. x. p. 355, note c.)

Jannai left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by his Queen Alexandra, or, as the Talmud calls her, Zion, the sister of Simon, the president of the Sanhedrin. In his last campaign she accompanied him and tended on his bed of sickness and pain, her own mind agitated not less by

grief at his impending death than by fears and apprehensions, if not for herself, for her children and royalty. In a moment of confidential conversation between husband and wife, she poured forth her anxieties to the dying monarch. With many tears, she reminded him how hateful he and the whole house of Jochanan Hyrcanus were to the Pharisees, who still, and notwithstanding their defeat, swayed the minds of the multitude; that during his lifetime all his valour and experience had been required to render innoxious these implacable enemies of his family; but that his approaching death would relieve them from the heavy hand that hitherto had kept them down, and leave her and her children exposed to their utmost rancour, which might even go so far as to commit outrage on his corpse. She therefore implored him to advise her how to act in the difficult position in which she was placed, and in whom she was to confide.

His parting advice proves how correct was his judgment, and how little his mind was clouded by the terrors of approaching death. "Fear not," said he, "the Sadducees, for they are my friends; nor yet the Pharisees, for they are not cruel; but beware of the *Zeboongim*, (dyed or varnished ones,) who commit deeds like Zimri, and yet crave the reward of Phinehas. (In allusion to Numbers xxv. 6, 14.) Be thou sure to conceal my death, and keep it secret from the army until *Ragaba* is taken. Then return triumphant to Jerusalem, and carry my body with thee. As soon as thou arrivest, send for the chiefs of that factious party, place my corpse before them, and tell them that thou dost wholly submit it to them, either to give it burial, or to throw it in the highway for the injuries I have done them. Assure them, at the same time, that thou thyself art so devoted to their principles, that thy design is to place them again at the head of affairs, and that thou wilt do nothing without their advice and con-

sent. Give them immediately some proofs of thy favour and friendship; and then, if thou dost but do as I direct thee, I shall be sure of a glorious funeral, and thou will reign in peace."

Kitto (vol. i. p. 709) remarks that the advice may have been good; but that the motives claim no high commendation. "He wished his wife to reign after him; and to secure that private object, he was willing that all the energies of government should be sacrificed, and that all the powers of the state should be thrown into the hands of men whom, whether justly or not, he despised and hated." In opposition to these remarks, a writer in the *Hebrew Review* (vol. iii. p. 260) observes, "that in advising his wife, on his deathbed, to confide in the Pharisees, King Jannai, in his last moments, bore testimony to the wrong he had done them in his day of power." We are not exactly inclined to subscribe to either of these two views, though our leaning is most toward the latter.

The object uppermost in the mind of Jannai was the life and reign of those who were dearest to him. But he must have felt that the uprightness and forbearance of the Pharisees were to be trusted; as otherwise nothing could have prevented them from using the power placed in their hands to retaliate on his wife and children the cruelties he had practised against theirs. Moreover, Queen Alexandra, the daughter and sister of leading Pharisees, and educated in the principles of their sect, had a natural leaning in their favour, to which her husband, it may be assumed, was no stranger. His parting advice, therefore, probably recommended that line of conduct, which at all events, she would have adopted; but which, strengthened by his counsel and guided by his experience, she might now enter upon, free from the reproach of her own conscience and from the upbraidings of her husband's friends.

Whatever view we take of the motives for Jannai's ad-

vice, it is certain that it was the best which, under the circumstances, could be given. As such the queen followed it strictly and in every particular; and the result was such as Jannai had foreseen. The Pharisees, restored to power, granted King Jannai's corpse funeral honours far more splendid than those of his predecessor. And they praised his wisdom, for that by his last will—which, unlike the testament of his father Hyrcanus, was carried out to the letter—he had appointed his widow Alexandra queen-regent of the kingdom. Along with the royal dignity, he invested her with the government during her lifetime, and with power to determine which of her two sons, Hyrcanus or Aristobulus, should succeed her.

As the queen could not, in person, hold the office of high-priest, she conferred that eminent dignity upon her eldest son, Hyrcanus, a man of mild and indolent disposition, ill-qualified to take part in the turmoils of the troubled times in which he was cast. The second son, Aristobulus, who was placed at the head of the army, was of a very different character,—impulsive and energetic, like his father, like him a Sadducee in principle, but by no means his equal in talents and in firmness of purpose.

By this arrangement the different crowns or powers in the state came to be divided, according to ancient usage, and so as to satisfy the wishes of the people. The crown of royalty rested on the brow of queen Alexandra; and one of the first acts of her reign was to recall and annul all the severe penal decrees which Hyrcanus I. and Jannai had enacted against the Pharisees, whose expositions of the written Law, or the traditions of the oral Law, once more reigned supreme. The crown of priesthood was worn by Hyrcanus, who, influenced by the kindred of his mother, had united himself to their sect, and came to be looked upon as the chief of the Pharisees. The crown of the Law once more adorned an independent Sanhedrin.

Emancipated from the degrading thraldom to which King Jannai so long had reduced it, and purged of its most obnoxious Sadducee members, that great national council was, in reality, the governing body.

A body of six thousand mercenaries in the queen's pay, and a much larger number of national troops, formed two considerable armies that protected the frontiers, and which her son commanded. But all real power was concentrated in the hands of the Sanhedrin, supported by the immense majority of the people. And the best proof of the wisdom and sound policy with which this council conducted public affairs, is furnished by the fact that during the nine years of Alexandra's reign (from 79 to 70 B. C. E.) neither foreign wars nor domestic outbreaks disturbed the peace or interrupted the prosperity of Judea.

And yet that period, as well as the greater part of the time of Jannai's reign, was one of intense agitation, during which the powers of Europe and of Asia were arrayed in deadly conflict against each other; and the Romans, for the first time since the fall of Hannibal and Carthage, encountered a foe who, for thirty years, could find employment for their arms, and defend the riches of the East against the strength and rapacity of the West.

Mithridates VI. Eupator inherited from his father the petty kingdom of Pontus, on the southern shores of the Black Sea, near the Caucasian mountain ridge, and now forming that portion of Turkey-in-Asia, in which the cities of Trebizond and Erzeroom are situated. This obscure nook of the earth, which neither before him nor after him has filled any space in the annals of history, was, by his talents and enterprise, raised to a degree of greatness and power that enabled him for a length of time, and often successfully, to rival Rome. He succeeded to the throne in his thirteenth year, but did not assume the reins of government till he was twenty years of age. The

intervening seven years were to him a season of severe but profitable probation. His mother, a woman of depraved mind and strong passions, cruel and unscrupulous, was accused of the murder of his father, and thirsted for the blood of her only son. Instigated by her, his tutors—to whom his scorn of submission and promptness to rebel against all authority had rendered him obnoxious—determined to destroy him; but the many snares they laid for him redounded only to his advantage or glory.

When encouraged to mount too mettlesome horses, he learned to tame their fiery spirit; when assailed more secretly by poison, he took precautions for rendering it harmless, and at length invented the famous Mithridate, which the ancients praise as a certain antidote against all poison, (Pliny N. H. lib. xxv. cap. 1 et 6.) In danger of assassination in his apartment, he lived seven years in the open air, spending his whole days in the chase, and sleeping under the canopy of heaven in the midst of companions attached to his fortunes and rivals of his manhood. Strong of body, active of mind, fearless and enterprising in the extreme, but cruel, treacherous, and selfish, he never spared man in his wrath nor woman in his lust. Capable of conceiving the grandest designs, and gifted with uncommon patience and perseverance, the first half of his long reign of sixty years, obscure as it is in history, was nevertheless a fit preparation for the splendour that followed it. During this period he gradually extended his sway in Asia, until his dominions extended two thousand miles in length, and were inhabited by twenty-four different nations, speaking as many different languages, in all of which the tenacious memory of Mithridates made him a master, so that he is celebrated as the greatest linguist of ancient times.

When he had thus extended his dominions toward the East, and consolidated the strength of his obscure and barbarous empire, he turned his attention to the more civilized

regions of the West. But this brought him in contact with the Romans, and led to a series of wars which completely altered the political condition of Western Asia, and eventually caused Judea to forfeit her dear-bought and highly-cherished independence. The wars between Mithridates and the Romans were attended by, and became the cause of such dreadful and ferocious bloodshed, that the cruelties of Jannai are completely thrown in the background. There are periods in history when a contagious phrenzy seems to have seized upon the minds of men, and atrocities the most heinous are perpetrated, simultaneously, as it were, in different parts of the world. Shortly before the time that Jannai caused the eight hundred to be crucified, Mithridates so planned it that all the Italians, residents or visitors, throughout Asia Minor were massacred in one single day. Of this catastrophe, the modes and instruments combined every variation of cruelty, and the number of victims is computed, by the lowest estimate, at 80,000; by the highest, at 150,000. (Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 2. Dion. Legat. 37.)

To revenge this foul deed, the Romans prepared to send a large army into Asia; and as the war against the rich sovereigns and in the wealthy countries of the East was expected to be extremely lucrative, the command in that war became a subject of contention and of civil war between the two most renowned generals of Rome, Marius and Sylla. Upward of 100,000 Roman citizens perished by the sword or by the hand of the executioner. The victorious Sylla is said to have *proscribed* or sentenced to death 40,000 citizens, and among them ninety senators and fifteen men who had been consuls of the Roman republic. At the same time, Sylla's campaigns and extortions in Asia Minor, the revenge he took on the people for the crime committed by Mithridates—while to that king himself he granted peace—were so destructive, that

this great, wealthy, and flourishing portion of the East could never again recover its pristine prosperity. (Schlosser's History of the World, vol. iii., pp. 654–560.)

It is instructive to observe how the spirit of partiality distorts the views and opinions of historians. The Pharisee senators of Judea, while they preserved peace at home and with their neighbours, deemed it an act of justice that the councillors of the late King Jannai—who had instigated him to the cruel execution of the 800, and who were known to have aided and abetted in the bloodshed caused by his rancour against the Pharisees—should be called to account and punished. In this they acted as every successful party has invariably been found to do under similar circumstances. They first took care of their friends, releasing all the prisoners, and recalling all the exiles belonging to their own party; and having thus strengthened themselves by the recovery of the ablest men of their own body, they next proceeded to punish the most obnoxious of their antagonists.

Their demand for justice was chiefly directed against the advisers of the crucifixion of the prisoners of *Bethome*, and the murder of their wives and children; and certainly, if there were any persons active in advising that dreadful enormity, they richly deserved punishment.

But unfortunately for the Pharisee senators who then governed Judea, their sect, long after their decease, became hateful and got a bad name. Accordingly, the writers in the Universal History refuse to acknowledge the justice of the measures adopted by the "Pharisaic crew" against the advisers of King Jannai, (vol. x., p. 357,) and they have been followed by other writers. But while they vent their indignation against the luckless Pharisees, these same writers have little or no fault to find with the demagogue monster Marius, or the aristocratic butcher Sylla. But then, to be sure, these wholesale slaughterers

were not Pharisees! No doubt the party so unexpectedly in power under Queen Alexandra, may have outstepped the precise bounds of moderation and equity; and the reaction may possibly have proved fatal to some who had no share in Jannai's crimes. But it appears certain that by far the greater number of those who suffered were guilty. The first that was brought to justice was Diogenes, a principal chief of the Sadducees, and the personal friend and confidant of the late king. His trial, condemnation, and execution, were followed by the conviction and death of several others of those Sadducees who, during the late king's reign, had enjoyed the greatest share of power and influence throughout the kingdom.

Queen Alexandra could not but feel unhappy at seeing her husband's most zealous and faithful friends perish under the hand of the executioner. But her remonstrances were silenced by the declaration of the Sanhedrin, that to stop the course of justice was contrary to the law of God and to the security of every good government. And though the queen might, in some instances at least, have been entitled to question the justice of the course adopted by the popular leaders, yet she felt that she was weak, while they were strong; and that of two evils, this reaction, with its executions, was preferable to a civil war. She therefore was obliged to submit, sorely against her will, and not without feelings of bitter remorse that preyed upon her health.

However, the Sadducee, or rather the royalist party, overthrown solely by the death of Jannai, and the consequent transfer of authority to their enemies, was still full of life and vigour, and by no means inclined tamely to succumb and to perish. The young prince Aristobulus, who had placed himself at the head of the Sadducees, and considered the cause of his father's friends as his own, encouraged them to resist, and at all events to ob-

tain the queen's sanction and consent to measures that would at least secure their persons against persecution.

Introduced by him into her presence, the chiefs of his party appealed to the queen for protection. They reminded her of their great services and unswerving loyalty to her late husband, and professed the most faithful attachment to herself and her children; that it was in consideration of these services rendered to her dynasty, that they were now exposed to the persecutions of a party which at one time had been the most hostile to her house; that, consequently, they conjured her not to let the friends of her husband and of her royalty be destroyed by his bitterest foes, and that not in a time of civil disturbance, but of profound peace, and under the government of her who had been a witness of all the difficulties and hardships they had suffered for him and with him. They implored her not to permit the destruction of so many renowned warriors, whose names still struck terror in her foreign enemies; and they concluded with requesting her either to permit them in a body to withdraw from the country, or that she would assign to them certain fortified cities which they might garrison, and in which they might reside unmolested. Prince Aristobulus seconded and joined in their request, and indulged in bitter taunts against the men who took advantage of the weakness of a woman, and therefore made her retain a power which, in her hands, was subservient to their ambitious will, but which of right belonged to the sons of Jannai.

These appeals made the strongest impression on the mind of the queen. Protect the Sadducee chiefs against the justice of the Pharisees, she could not. Permit them to withdraw from the country, she would not. And yet to deprive herself and her house of friends, whose loyalty and valour had been tested on many a battle-field, and thus to hand her sons over to the same dependence on the

Pharisees which she herself found so galling, was an extreme by all means to be avoided. She therefore, after mature deliberation, resolved to confide to the friends of her late husband the command of the several fortified cities of the kingdom, whence she might recall them in due time, and where, for the present, they might either remain unmolested, or else be able to stand on their own defence. As, however, she did not wish to exasperate the Pharisees by placing too much confidence in their opponents, she took care not to intrust any Sadducee with the command in the three principal strongholds, *Hyrcania*, *Alexandria*, and *Machœron*, in which the royal treasures were deposited.

The Pharisees were satisfied with their present advantages, and did not attack the Sadducees in their retreats. Prince Aristobulus was shortly afterward sent, at the head of an army, into Syria, to defend the Jewish possessions in that country against a predatory inroad undertaken from Egypt by *Ptolemy Mennœus*, who obtained possession of several places without Aristobulus doing any thing worth notice to prevent him. On his return, the young prince, who had taken great pains to ingratiate himself with the soldiers, was constrained to take up his abode in Jerusalem, and was closely watched by the senatorial party; while, at the same time, the favour of his elder brother, Hyrcanus, was courted, and no means neglected to gain his good will. Queen Alexandra congratulated herself on having thus saved her husband's surviving friends without any breach of the public peace at home, when she became alarmed by the tidings of war and invasion from abroad.

Tigranes, King of Armenia, the son-in-law and ally of Mithridates, King of Pontus, had, as we have already related, been elected king of Syria by the Antiochians. He had built for his residence a city which he called *Ti-*

granocerta, near the river Tigris, about three hundred miles south of his former capital, *Artaxata*, on the Araxes. To people and fill the vast circuit of the walls which his ostentatious vanity had traced, he needed men and movables. We have already related how he partly met this want, by carrying many inhabitants of Syria, among them numbers of Jews, into Armenia. But as this supply proved insufficient, he had, in his treaty of alliance with his father-in-law, stipulated that whatever conquests they jointly made, Tigranes was to make prize of and carry off all the inhabitants and all movable property, while Mithridates contented himself with rifled cities and depopulated territories. (Justin. lib. xxxvii. cap. 3.)

The Jews were the ancient allies of the Romans, with whom the two kings were at war. Judea was densely populated and wealthy; reasons abundantly sufficient to justify, in the eyes of Tigranes, an attack upon the friends of his enemies. When the queen Alexandra heard of his intention, she and her councillors were justly alarmed; for against so powerful an enemy Judea could offer no effectual resistance. Tigranes had already advanced as far as Ptolemais, and had laid siege to that city at the head of 50,000 men, when Queen Alexandra sent ambassadors, charged with rich presents, to compliment the king and to endeavour to propitiate his favour. To their great surprise and relief, the ambassadors met with a most friendly reception, and both their compliments and presents were graciously accepted.

No doubt the king's grand-vizier, Shambat Bagrad, who was a Jew, exerted all his influence in favour of his coreligionists; but it is certain that some cause more potent must have been at work to induce the haughty Tigranes to forego his purpose; and that cause was the irresistible progress of the Roman arms. Lucullus, the successor of Sylla in the command against Mithridates,

had utterly defeated that monarch, and forced him to seek refuge in the dominions of his son-in-law and ally, the king of Armenia.

According to the state law of the Romans, the complete conquest and undisturbed possession of a country, did not constitute a sufficient and legitimate title to have and to hold it forever, unless it was ceded to them by a treaty, or the king of the conquered country had fallen into their hands either dead or alive. It therefore became of importance to Lucullus to secure the person of Mithridates, whose dominions were already in possession of the Romans; and as that monarch had fled to Armenia, Lucullus pursued him, determined to obtain the surrender of the ex-king of Pontus, either by negotiation or force. Such were the news that reached Tigranes immediately before the arrival of the Jewish ambassadors; and as he felt the necessity of instantly returning to defend his hereditary kingdom, he deemed it most prudent not to provoke the queen of Judea, who, though little able to resist the force he could lead against her, might yet, during his absence, prove a troublesome neighbour to his possessions in Syria.

This embassy to Tigranes was the last public act of importance undertaken by orders of Queen Alexandra. Her advanced age—for she was then in her seventy-third year—and the anxieties of government had so far undermined her constitution, that the terror caused by the expected attack of Judea by Tigranes was more than she could stand. The reaction that followed on the return of her embassy proved fatal to her nervous system, and threw her on a bed of sickness, hopeless of recovery.

No sooner was her mortal malady known, than her younger son, Aristobulus, thought the time come for realizing a design which he had long harboured, of securing the crown for himself. Intrusting his secret solely to his

wife—a woman of great prudence and energy—whom, with her children, he left in Jerusalem, he himself, attended by a single domestic, quitted the city clandestinely at night, with the intention of visiting and bringing over to his interest those friends of his father who, by his assistance and intercession with the queen, had obtained the custody of several fortified cities. The first stronghold he visited was Agaba, where one of the most influential chiefs of the Sadducees, Gabertus, held the command. By this man, who had been a special confidant of King Jannai, Prince Aristobulus was received with open arms, and his plans found a ready and powerful abettor. For Aristobulus soon convinced him that his life and that of all the Sadducee chiefs and friends of Jannai depended on the protection of the queen; but that in the event of his feeble brother Hyrcanus succeeding to the throne, the ultra Pharisees would govern even more absolutely than they had done under Alexandra; and then would not rest satisfied with less than the utter ruin of the friends of Jannai.

Though this reasoning was more plausible than just—since it was evident that Queen Alexandra could impose but little restraint on the animosity of the dominant Pharisees, and that had they been inclined to incur the risk of a civil war, the name of Alexandra would have been a tower of strength to them, even in a greater degree than that of Hyrcanus could be, as his mental impotence was generally known—the chief of the Sadducees readily adopted the views of Aristobulus, and seconded his design with such zeal, that in fourteen days twenty-two of the principal strongholds of Judea declared for him.

The queen, on her sick bed, had noticed the absence of her younger son on the morning after his departure; but probably she did not suspect his design, and, at all events, she did not deem it necessary or wise to compel his return

to Jerusalem. The Pharisees, however, soon obtained information of his rapid progress, and that not only the Sadducees, and the army generally, went over to him, but that even the people, with whom the sect of the Pharisees had so long been all-powerful, evinced a strong inclination in his favour. Their principal chiefs, unprepared for such an emergency, now presented themselves at the queen's bedside, and bringing Hyrcanus, her elder son, with them, they urgently pressed her to declare her views on this alarming state of things, and to advise them what to do; their object being to use her authority, as she was much beloved by the people.

The queen, who was dying, had just strength enough left to declare that she felt herself past the cares of government. She however named her son Hyrcanus for her successor, remarking that she left the Pharisees every requisite for the defence and protection of the new king and of themselves,—arms, soldiers, and money; and that it was for them to make the best use of the abundant means at their disposal. She expired immediately afterward, leaving behind her a reputation for wisdom, piety, and kindliness which would have been perfect, were it not for the stigma with which her treachery to the murdered Prince Antigonus has branded her name.[14]

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[14] There is reason to doubt whether the Queen Alexandra, or Salome, the mother of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus II., was the same person with the Queen Salome, or Alexandra, the widow of Aristobulus I., who conspired against her brother-in-law Antigonus. Josephus, indeed, everywhere speaks of her as if but one queen of the name were in question; but an examination of dates will prove that such cannot be the case. For Hyrcanus, the eldest son of Alexandra by Jannai, was, according to Josephus himself, upward of eighty years of age when he was put to death, 30 B. C. E. He must therefore have been born about the year 111 B. C. E.; and as Aristobulus I. did not die until the year 106 B. C. E., it follows that at the time Jannai married the childless widow of Aristobulus I., his son Hyrcanus must have been five years old, and consequently could not be

Her peaceable reign of nine years had done much to obliterate the traces and to repair the ravages caused by the long civil war; and though her administration was merely nominal, so that the merit of the good done during her reign in reality belongs to the Sanhedrin, still we must not forget that on more occasions than one, she, as queen regent, sacrificed her feelings to her duty; and that when at last she did to some extent indulge her feelings, it was in support of clemency and of the true interests of her dynasty.

No sooner had she descended to the grave, than the horrors of civil war, which she had long restrained, burst forth over the land. The reign of the Pharisees had been rigorous to that degree that it alienated the people, who, till then, had been so strongly attached to them. The Talmud (*Jerush, tr. Sanhedrin,*) records instances of their judicial severity, and also of the reaction they created in the popular mind. Thus Simon the son of Shetahh is said on one occasion to have sentenced and executed eighty women convicted of witchcraft.

Two of the relatives of these women conspired together to obtain full revenge on the rigorous judge. They ac-

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the son of the widow. It is true that, according to this view, Jannai was a father at the age of seventeen; and as he died after a reign of twenty-seven years, in his forty-ninth year, while his wife, who survived him only by nine years, was seventy-three years old when she died, it follows that she was fifteen years older than he. And this would give us a royal prince of seventeen married to a woman of thirty-two, old enough to have been his mother as well as the mother of his son. But this discrepancy between the age of the king and queen remains the same, whatever opinion we adopt with respect to the identity of the mother of Hyrcanus and the widow of Aristobulus I. The notices in the Talmud (which calls the daughter of Shetahh *Zion*) on Jannai and his family are too scanty to help us to get over the difficulty; and as Josephus evidently contradicts himself, it is safest to assume two distinct Alexandras, so as not to interfere with the age of Hyrcanus II.

cused the only son of Simon of a capital crime; and so skilfully had they planned their charge and framed their evidence, that the innocent youth was convicted, and the wretched father compelled to pass sentence of death upon him. When the young man was led forth for execution, the false accusers relented, and came forward to declare that they had committed perjury, and that the convict was innocent. But the law, according to the interpretation of the Pharisees, does not permit a witness to retract or to recall the testimony to which he has sworn; no other evidence could be produced to invalidate or rebut the first statement on which the condemnation had been founded; and the unhappy Simon, a prey to contending emotions, was wavering between his duties as a judge and chief of the law and his feelings as a loving father. His son, however, with a degree of fortitude seldom surpassed, urged his father to carry out the sentence, "for," said he, "it is better I should die, than that doubt should be thrown on the interpretation of the law." And so he died.

All this, however, acted on public opinion unfavourably to the party in power; and as the imbecile and indolent disposition of Hyrcanus II. was generally known, the people dreaded that, with the death of the queen, even the feeble restraint which she had imposed on the rigour of the senators would cease, and their rule become insupportable. Aristobulus himself, in the first instance, and the friends of his father who had joined him, had doubtless watched this change of opinion in the people; and as they were assured of the soldiery and of the priests, their success did not appear doubtful.

The friends of Hyrcanus had seized on the wife and children of Aristobulus, and caused them to be strictly confined in the royal palace or castle of Baris; and threats were held out that the life of these precious pledges should answer for his rebellion, unless he at once

submitted to the lawful authority of his elder brother. But Aristobulus had already formed so strong a party among the members of the Sanhedrin, as well as among the mercenaries who guarded the palace, that he saw no reason to dread any immediate violence to his wife or children. Regardless, therefore, of the menaces of the Hyrcanists, he took upon himself the royal state and title, and advanced against Jerusalem by slow marches, each day bringing him fresh accessions of strength.

The Hyrcanists, finding that nothing but the sword could decide between the two brothers, raised what forces they could and marched against him. The two armies met at Jericho, and a battle appeared inevitable. But as Aristobulus—ardent and full of confidence in the bravery and fidelity of the veterans whom his father had so often led on to victory—advanced to the charge, the great majority of the troops of Hyrcanus passed over and joined the ranks of his competitor. They were followed by several members of the Sanhedrin, who had secretly entered into relations with Aristobulus. The unfortunate Hyrcanus fled and shut himself up in the same castle of Baris in which his sister-in-law and nephews were confined. The few troops that remained faithful to him, and had followed him in his flight, threw themselves into the fortifications of the temple, where they soon found themselves destitute of provisions, and were compelled to surrender to Aristobulus, who thus, with little or no bloodshed, obtained possession of the entire kingdom.

Poor Hyrcanus was left without any defenders in arms, and with scarcely any adherents. But his right was unquestionable. And Aristobulus, who had not hesitated to seize on the supreme power, which he justly averred his brother was incapable of wielding for the public good, did not venture to offer any indignity to the feeble but guiltless man whom he had stripped of his crown, but

could not rob of his birthright. Under these circumstances, Hyrcanus, timid and destitute of ambition, proposed a treaty, which Aristobulus accepted, and which transferred to the latter the rights of the former.

According to Josephus, (Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 1–3,) Hyrcanus abdicated both the crown and the high-priesthood; and was thenceforth to lead a private life, but with all the honours due to his rank and regal birth. According to Jewish historians, however, (*Juckasin* fo. 138 B. *Rabad* 8, 1,) Hyrcanus only abdicated the kingdom, but preserved the dignity of high-priest until his flight from Jerusalem, of which we shall presently speak. We ourselves incline to this latter account, in preference to that of Josephus. For Aristobulus at the time affected to court popularity; and among the Jews of all sects nothing could be more unpopular than the union of the two offices of king and pontiff in the same person.

To strengthen the treaty, and to secure to the descendants of Hyrcanus, who had no son, that royal dignity which he himself laid down, it was agreed that his only daughter should be given in marriage to the eldest son of Aristobulus. And in order to give their treaty the greatest possible degree of solemnity and publicity, it was sworn to by both brothers in the temple, at the altar, before the sanctuary, in the presence of the priests, and within sight of the assembled people. The transaction being thus completed, Hyrcanus evacuated the royal castle of Baris, and withdrew to the mansion which, during the lifetime of his mother, he had occupied in Jerusalem. His reign had only lasted three months; and in laying down the crown he doubtless blessed his happy stars for having been relieved from the perils, anxieties, vexations, and griefs to which he had been a prey during his short-lived royalty, and which formed all that he had tasted of regal sway and enjoyment.

Aristobulus, better qualified than he to preside over the destinies of his people, reigned six years with considerable prudence. A Sadducee himself, and raised to the throne by the aid chiefly of that sect, he yet preserved moderation sufficient not to persecute the Pharisees, or to renew against their tenets the severe decree of his father and grandfather. Indeed, it does not appear that he in any way molested them, or even deprived their chiefs of their seats in the Sanhedrin; though, of course, he filled up every vacancy in that august council with friends of his own, and generally transferred the offices of trust and power to his own partisans.

But though he did not unduly interfere with the Pharisees, they did not trust him, but looked upon his forbearance as either the effect of present weakness, or else as a snare to lull them into false security. They ascribed to their adversaries a degree of cunning and deep-laid schemes of revenge which are proved by no facts or overt acts; and feeling that their own sect had nothing to hope for, but much to fear, from Aristobulus, they continued to look upon Hyrcanus as their chief and the legitimate king of Judea. Unfortunately for the independence and welfare of the Jews, the fears of the Pharisees were shared by a man who possessed a perfect mastery over the weak mind of Hyrcanus, and whose shrewd and corrupt appreciation of events enabled him eventually to raise his own house on the ruin of the Asmoneans.

That man was Antipas, or, as he Grecified his name, Antipater, the father of that King Herod, or Hourdous, whose evil repute is alike recorded in Jewish as in Christian history. Antipater was the son of an officer high in the confidence of King Jannai, who appointed him governor of Idumea, and of Queen Alexandra, who continued him in that office. Respecting this progenitor and grandfather of a royal dynasty, his early life and pedi-

gree, so little is known, that even his name is uncertain. While friends and flatterers of that prosperous family represented the Herods as of pure and noble Judean descent, their enemies, who are far more numerous, exclaimed that they were originally idolaters of the lowest station, and holding mean offices in a heathen temple.

Strabo falls into the error of assuming that the Herod family belonged to the ancient blood-royal of Judea, the house of David. The panegyrist of King Herod, Nicholas Damascenes, who published his history during the lifetime of that monarch, derived his pedigree from one of the chiefs of those Jews who returned from Babylonish captivity. For this piece of barefaced flattery this writer is sharply rebuked by Josephus, who, however, goes no farther back than the father of Antipater, a noble Idumean, and governor under Jannai of his native province.

A later Jewish writer (*Semach David*, xvii. 1,) says this governor was of Jewish descent, and after the conversion of the Idumeans under Hyrcanus I. married a lady of royal birth in that country, whence he was designated as the Idumean.

It is, however, well known that the family of Herod never insisted on their Judean origin. It is even related of King Agrippa, the grandson of King Herod, that on one occasion, when the Law of Moses was read in his presence, the words, "From the midst of thy brethren shalt thou set a king over thee; thou mayest not set over thee a stranger who is not thy brother," (Deut. xvii. 15,) so affected the king that he began to weep bitterly; on which the assembled Sanhedrin, who witnessed his emotion, with one accord exclaimed, "Thou art our brother; thou art indeed our brother!" An anecdote which goes far to confirm the statement of Josephus, especially as it is well known that one of the reasons for the invincible

dislike with which the Jewish nation viewed Herod the Great, was his being of alien descent.

Eusebius (Ecclesiastical History, lib. i, cap. 6, 7) speaks of a letter written by Julius Africanus, and in which Antipater is stated to have been the son of one Herod, whose father was vestry-keeper in the temple of Apollo at *Ascalon;* and so poor withal that when his son (Herod) was taken prisoner by some Arab robbers, he had not the means to pay the ransom they demanded; that young Herod consequently remained with these roving Idumean plunderers, who subsequently were subjugated by Hyrcanus I. and compelled to embrace the Jewish religion. This last account is not at all inconsistent with the statement of Josephus that this man was an Idumean noble; for the very fact of his being appointed governor of the province would raise his family to the rank of nobles, whatever his origin might have been.[15]

Amid all these conflicting opinions, one fact remains established: the father of Antipater was governor of Idumea. In that office he had entered into relations of amity with the king of the Arabs, which subsequently became of great utility to his son. Antipater had, as a boy, been sent to Jerusalem, partly as a hostage and partly for education, and was brought up with the two sons of King Jannai, who were nearly of the same age

[15] Hardouin, a learned Jesuit of the seventeenth century, who had the singular crotchet of asserting that all the Greek and Latin classics were forgeries, with the manufacturing of which the Benedictine monks had amused themselves in their cloisters during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and who includes Josephus's works in the number of these forgeries, insists upon it, that Herod, King of Judea, was an Athenian. His proofs are, that this king, on some of his medals, is called a benefactor of Athens; and that there actually was a famous man of the name of Herod living in Athens during the days of Cæsar and of Cicero. We mention this opinion only for its singularity, and to show what absurdities very learned men may sometimes propound.

with himself. His courage, ready wit, and decision of character soon gained for him a perfect mastery over the mind of the feeble Hyrcanus, with whom his insinuating address and apparent kindliness speedily rendered him a prime favourite. Aristobulus, on the contrary, soon took a deep dislike to Antipater, which grew with his growth, and reached that degree of intensity that he could not conceal the aversion which the sight of Antipater called forth within him. A lively French writer (Salvador) speaks of this aversion as a secret instinct, which seemed to tell Aristobulus that among the causes that were to ruin his dynasty, this Antipater would rank foremost.

We have no means of knowing how or where Antipater was occupied during the stirring events that followed the death of Queen Alexandra, until the transfer of the supreme power from Hyrcanus to Aristobulus. But the probability appears to be that Antipater was actively engaged in upholding Hyrcanus' cause in Idumea, and was not in Jerusalem at the time of the treaty. But soon after Hyrcanus' retirement into private life, we find Antipater at his side, busy as a go-between, keeping up the communication between the disaffected Pharisees and the chief of their choice, the abdicated king. The community of interests between himself and the leading Pharisees, equally shut out from power by the personal dislike of Aristobulus, made it easy for Antipater to keep up among the great body of that sect a feeling of jealousy and fear against the reigning monarch, whom they styled a usurper, and who, they were assured by the subtle Idumean, would never think himself secure until he had cut off his injured brother, and with him all those who had supported his righteous cause.

By such insinuations, he soon drew the Pharisees into his design of dethroning Aristobulus, and restoring Hyrcanus to the throne. His greatest difficulty was to prevail

on Hyrcanus to join them, for the indolent disposition of that prince long resisted all Antipater's importunities. As year after year glided by, Hyrcanus became more obstinate in his refusal to believe that his brother would attempt any thing against his life. He himself had no ambition, nor yet the desire to recover a crown that to him had proved one of thorns; or if he had, it was checked and overcome by the danger of the attempt, which he viewed in the most dismal light. When Antipater perceived that fear was Hyrcanus' predominant feeling, his first care was to secure an asylum where that timid prince might feel himself safe from the heavy hand of his brother. This asylum he succeeded in obtaining with Aretas, King of the Arabs, residing in Petra, whom he visited in person, and whence he returned to Jerusalem with such despatch and privacy, that he came back before his absence had been suspected.

He then began to work upon Hyrcanus' fears by the assurance that his life was in immediate danger, and that unless he at once escaped nothing could save him. His remonstrances were seconded by several of Hyrcanus' friends, who declared that they shared the danger; that their lives depended on his safety; that he was the choice of the people, who would not fail to rally in his cause as soon as his person was known to be beyond the immediate reach of his brother's power. All these importunities so completely bewildered the imbecile Hyrcanus, that he lost all power of will and of action. Antipater, who had reason to dread that his treasonable design could not much longer remain concealed from Aristobulus, and who therefore was himself actuated by the very fear with which he had laboured so hard to inoculate Hyrcanus, took advantage of the prostrate condition of that hapless prince, and carried him off by night, and almost by force, from Jerusalem. Every preparation had quietly been made to insure rapidity of loco-

motion; and the passive Hyrcanus allowed himself to be hurried along, almost without resting, until he reached Petra.

It is probable that on his previous visit to the king of the Arabs, Antipater had asked for no more than an asylum for Hyrcanus, whose life, he averred, was threatened by his brother, the usurper of his crown. But when the legitimate sovereign of Judea was present to ratify engagements which his minister might contract, Antipater began to treat with Aretas for his co-operation to restore Hyrcanus to the throne. The Jewish negotiator stated that his master had numerous adherents, and that a powerful party in Judea would be sure to declare for him as soon as he could appear at the head of an army; that Hyrcanus was a man of mild, peaceable disposition, who would in no case attack or molest his neighbours: while Aristobulus resembled his father Jannai, from whose activity and enterprise the Arabs had already suffered so much; that the usurper had been prevented from carrying out his father's plans of conquest solely by the necessity of watching the party of Hyrcanus, and of keeping his forces at home and in readiness to suppress any rising on the part of his brother's adherents; that under these circumstances it was manifestly the interest of Aretas to help Hyrcanus to regain his crown, especially as Hyrcanus was willing to pay liberally for effectual aid.

Aretas listened favourably to these representations; and a treaty was concluded, by which the king of the Arabs engaged to lead the king of Judea back to Jerusalem at the head of an efficient army, and the king of Judea undertook to restore to the king of the Arabs twelve considerable fortified cities on the southern and eastern frontiers of Judea, which King Jannai had conquered and reunited to the original possessions of Israel. Thus the very first act in the political and administrative career of Antipater,

fully indicated the spirit and policy of the Herodian dynasty, which looked for support to foreigners, and was ever ready to sacrifice to its own private advancement the best interests of Judea.

Aretas acted up to his engagement, raised an army, it is said of fifty thousand men, invaded Judea, and proclaimed himself the auxiliary and champion of the legitimate king, Hyrcanus, and as such, an enemy of the usurper Aristobulus, but not of the Jewish nation. The partisans of Hyrcanus flocked to his standard, while Aristobulus, taken by surprise, was but ill prepared to encounter such an invasion. But the veterans of King Jannai despised the Arabs whom they had so often defeated; and Aristobulus readily complied with their loudly-expressed desire to be at once led against the enemy.

In his eagerness, however, he overlooked the fact that the Arabs had been joined by numbers of Jews, who would fight with all the rage of party zeal and of sectarian rancour. His forces boldly met the Arabs and their auxiliaries the Hyrcanists; but after a long and obstinate fight the greater number prevailed, and Aristobulus was defeated with great loss. He retreated to Jerusalem, and was closely pursued by Aretas, who presented himself before the gates and demanded admission as the ally of the lawful sovereign of Judea. The adherents of Hyrcanus in the city rose; the mass of the citizens, awed by the numerous forces that threatened to besiege them, offered no resistance; the gates were thrown open, and Aretas, at the head of his Arabs, entered the city of Jerusalem without opposition. Aristobulus, with the few troops that had escaped from the battle, retreated within the fortifications of the temple; the priests and his principal Sadducee adherents joined him, and prepared to defend him and themselves to the utmost; while the populace, under the influence of the Pharisees, declared for Hyrcanus and lent

their aid to Aretas, who at once laid siege to the temple mount.

This sudden change in the affairs of Judea took place in the early part of spring, and shortly before the great annual festival of the Passover, the due celebration of which made it imperative on the greater part of the male population of Judea to appear at the temple. But as, under the existing state of things, this became impossible, many eminent inhabitants of Judea retired to Egypt to celebrate the Passover in the temple built by Onias, and which thus obtained the recognition that until then had been denied to it by the Judeans. As those who were besieged within the temple of Jerusalem had neither lambs nor other animals required for the sacrifices of the fesval, Aristobulus applied to the besiegers to supply him with the necessary number, so that the public offerings might not be interrupted. The besiegers agreed so to do, on condition that he should pay one thousand drachms of silver for every head of cattle, and that they should receive the money before they delivered the animals. Aristobulus consented, and the money was let down to the besiegers by a cord from the top of the wall that encompassed the temple mount. But the thieving Arabs had no sooner received the money than, instead of furnishing the animals as agreed, they began to deride the Jews in the temple[16] for their folly in parting with their money for

[16] A Talmudic legend relates that the besiegers furnished the besieged with two lambs every day, one for the continual offering in the morning, and the second for the evening offering; and that these lambs were hoisted up to the temple mount in a basket, which the besieged lowered with the payment agreed upon. After this had been done several days, a man, well versed in Greek mythology, advised the besiegers to put a swine instead of a lamb into the basket. His advice was adopted, and the impure animal had nearly reached the summit of the temple wall before the imposition was discovered. This gave rise to a decree which anathematized the raising of swine in Judea, and the teaching of Greek mythology to Jewish children.

nothing. The priests, filled with grief at the interruption of the public worship, and mortified at the dishonesty and want of faith of the besiegers, went before the altar, and, in lieu of sacrifices, offered up their prayers that the Lord would speedily punish the perfidious foes for their contempt of his worship.

Another crime, greater and still more atrocious, because committed by Jews, likewise disgraced the progress of the siege. There lived, at that time, a man in Jerusalem of advanced age and great piety, named *Hhonia Hamangol*, "Onias of the circle," to whose prayers unfailing efficacy and power was ascribed.[17] He had retired from Jerusalem and taken refuge in one of the caverns near the city, where some of the most violent of the Hyrcanists laid hold of him, dragged him by main force to the siege, and insisted upon his offering prayers to God for the destruction of King Aristobulus and his adherents. He resisted a long time, till, worn out by their threats and importunities, he lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed, "Lord God of Israel, sovereign ruler of the universe, those that besiege thy temple are thy people, and those that are besieged within it are thy priests. Therefore, I beseech thee, Lord! do not hear either side when they pray against each other." He had scarcely pronounced this brief and most patriotic supplication, before the exaspe-

[17] On one occasion of long and grievous drought, when famine threatened the land, and public fasts and prayers had been repeated in vain, Hhonia traced a circle in the ground, entered within it, and continued his prayers incessantly, until an abundant fall of rain refreshed the parched land and averted the impending calamity. From this circumstance he obtained the surname of *Hamangol*, "of the circle," which attested the efficacy of his prayers. The Sanhedrin does not seem to have altogether approved of his mode of praying, as it is recorded that Simon the son of Shetahh sent a messenger to tell him in the name of that *Nasi*, (president,) "If thou wert not Hhonia, I should have excommunicated thee." (Talmud, *tr. Taanith*, fo. 23.)

rated multitude let fly at him such volleys of stones, as killed him on the spot.

Josephus (Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 2–4,) remarks that misdeeds so heinous called for speedy punishment; and as the crimes had been twofold, the chastisement with which the people were visited was likewise twofold. An awful storm, shortly after the murder of Hhonia, destroyed all the fruit and grain throughout Judea, so that a measure of wheat sold for eleven drachms of silver, and all the people suffered grievously from famine. The second punishment, however, was far more fatal. The Romans interfered in the affairs of Judea with a strong hand, and successively subdued the country, destroyed the city and temple, and dispersed the Jewish people, who have never since been able to recover the land promised to Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob, or to reconstruct the body politic of Israel.

The adherents of Aristobulus throughout Judea who had not been able to join him previous to his hasty and ill-advised attack on the invaders, and who had, at first, been completely overwhelmed by the sudden and calamitous progress of events, gradually began to rally; and as, to their great joy, they found that the temple was stoutly defended, they determined to strain every nerve in order to succour their king before he should be reduced to extremity. The mass of the people, upbraiding Hyrcanus' faction for having brought an army of foreign marauders into the land, and exasperated at the interruption of the temple-worship and at the insult offered to religion, also began to take up arms in the cause of Aristobulus. A considerable force was thus collected and on the point of marching to Jerusalem, in order to raise the siege of the temple, to expel the foreign invaders, and to punish the traitors that had invited them. The advance of this army, however, as well as the siege operations of Aretas and his auxiliaries, were suddenly arrested by the start-

ling intelligence that a Roman army had taken possession of Damascus and was approaching the borders of Judea, with the declared intention of putting down the disturbances in that country. The chiefs of the two Jewish factions felt the importance of securing the good graces of these powerful arbitrators; and ambassadors from Hyrcanus, as well as from Aristobulus, presented themselves before the officers who commanded the Roman troops, advancing from Damascus toward Judea.

The wars so long waged against Mithridates had at length been successfully brought to a close. That monarch, expelled from his dominions, had sought refuge with his ally and son-in-law, Tigranes, who, by his refusal to surrender the fugitive, had brought upon himself the irresistible arms of the Romans. They soon reduced the king of Armenia nearly to a level with the ex-king of Pontus. Tigranes's army was routed; his proud capital, *Tigranocerta*, taken and plundered; and he himself, altogether unattended and anxious only for the safety of his person, had escaped to dark lurking-places in the northern and roughest parts of Armenia. There he was found by Mithridates, who had not been present at the rout of the Armenian army, and who now shared with his vanquished son-in-law, his own guards and every other supply with which he was furnished. His advice and sympathy encouraged Tigranes to endeavour in some measure to retrieve his affairs by raising another army, while both the kings joined in humbly soliciting aid from the Parthians, which they did not obtain.

But Lucullus, the Roman general whose valour and skill had reduced these two powerful kings to so abject a condition, was now to encounter a more formidable foe, in the disaffection of his own troops. They who had been the instruments of his glory, became the tools used for his disgrace. Lucullus had on more occasions than one during

his command in the east, restrained the extortion of tax-gatherers, set bounds to the exorbitancy of usurers—some of them of the highest rank—and resisted the corruption of judges and the chicanery of lawyers, who, like vultures, had flocked from Rome into the newly-conquered provinces to fatten upon their life-blood. By these means, however, he had roused and combined against himself the bitter rancour of all who were concerned in these abuses, and particularly the keen resentment of the whole body of Roman knights, who farmed the revenues of the provinces. The clamours they raised against him gained strength and effect from the unhappy circumstances of the times. In the progress of luxury and selfishness, fomented and fed by an accumulation of external advantages, the Romans had arrived at a most corrupt and degraded state of society. Men of real worth were so few and so little inclined to pander to the passions of the populace, that unprincipled egotists, who assumed the semblance of virtue as a gainful art, acquired unbounded popularity, and became the fond idols of profligate and wrong-headed votaries.

An idol of this kind public partiality had erected in the person of Cneius Pompeius, a favourite of Sylla, who for his successes in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, and Africa, had saluted him with the title of *Great*, before his twenty-fifth year. Popular favour had granted him the honours of a public triumph, while he had yet reached no higher civil dignity than that of a knight, and had gained his victories not over foreign enemies, but over domestic rebels. He had been Consul jointly with Crassus, of whom hereafter we shall have occasion to say more, in the same year that Lucullus defeated Tigranes: and his emissaries had sown the seeds of disaffection so successfully in the minds of the army in Asia, that the troops of Lucullus refused any longer to obey that commander, and declared that they would follow no leader except the great and generous Pompeius.

The king of Pontus, then in his sixty-ninth year, but watchful, active, and enterprising as ever, soon became acquainted with the disaffection and disobedience that prevailed in the Roman army, and at once turned it to his own advantage by suddenly making an inroad into his own hereditary kingdom, and defeating the lieutenant of Lucullus with great slaughter. The enemies of that commander raised an outcry against him, and eventually succeeded in getting him recalled, and his command transferred to Pompeius, with powers such as till then had never been confided to any Roman general.

He had shortly before been appointed to head an armament against the pirates of Cilicia; and to give the greatest possible efficacy to his operations, he was entrusted with supreme authority during three years, over all the seas navigated by the Romans, and all the shores subject to their sway to the distance of fifty miles inland. He was to be furnished with five hundred galleys; one hundred and twenty thousand sailors, soldiers, and marines; a body of five thousand horse; six thousand talents (equal to six millions of dollars) in ready money, and an unlimited command over the Roman treasures throughout all their territories. His success had been equal to the vastness of his means. In one single campaign he effectually subdued the pirates, sunk three hundred and seventy-eight of their galleys, destroyed one hundred and twenty of their harbours and strongholds, and forever broke their power.

The whole of his vast forces flushed with victory, he now joined to the armies that had been commanded by Lucullus, and found it easy to complete what that ill-rewarded general had so well begun—the subjugation of Mithridates and Tigranes. The former of these two kings, outmanœuvred by the generalship and overwhelmed by the numbers of the Romans, was once more and irretrievably

dispossessed of his dominions; while Tigranes, as abject in adversity as he had been insolent in prosperity, succumbed to the terror that preceded Pompey, and submitted to the terms which that conqueror was pleased to dictate, and which transferred to the Romans the entire kingdom of Syria, the ancient heritage of the Seleucidæ, but whom the Syrians themselves had expelled fourteen years previously, when they elected Tigranes. The Roman chief, whose personal presence was required in the lesser Armenia, sent his lieutenants Scaurus and Gabinius on before him to occupy Antioch and Damascus, the ancient seats of the royal house of the Seleucus.

Before these commanders of the Romans, the ambassadors both of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus presented themselves, both equally eager to secure the favour of the Romans. But that favour was only to be obtained at the price of hard cash. And Aristobulus, who held the temple and all its rich treasury, possessed advantages against which poor Hyrcanus could not contend. He could only afford promises, while his competitor gave ready money. Moreover, the Romans deemed it much easier to frighten away the besieging Arabs for Aristobulus, than to take so strong a fortress as the temple for Hyrcanus. For the price of four hundred talents (about four hundred thousand dollars) paid to Scaurus, and of a sum variously estimated at from one hundred to three hundred talents (one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand dollars) to his colleague, Gabinius, a letter was granted by Scaurus commanding Aretas to abandon the siege and to quit Judea, under the threat that in the event of his refusal the Roman arms would at once be turned against him.

Aretas was not in a condition to disobey the haughty orders of the Roman. The siege was progressing slowly. The forces which had been raised by the adherents of Aristobulus would of themselves have been enough to give

full occupation to Aretas and the Hyrcanists: the garrison of the temple, encouraged by the approaching succour of friends, was ready at the shortest notice for a desperate effort against the besiegers; and when to all this we add the terror of the Roman name, it is not surprising that Aretas at once raised the siege and began his retreat, carrying Hyrcanus and Antipater along with him.

But though Scaurus had interdicted all further hostilities on the part of the Arabs, he had not extended the same prohibition to the Jews. The siege of the temple had no sooner been raised, than Aristobulus sallied forth with the garrison and hastened to put himself at the head of the army which his adherents had raised, and which was encamped at no great distance from Jerusalem. Eager to be revenged for his own defeat, and for the insult offered to the worship of the temple, the king of Judea hurried his army onward in pursuit of the Arabs, whom he overtook, attacked, and defeated with great slaughter, at a place called Papyrion. Seven thousand Arabs were slain, and with them Cephallon, the brother of Antipater.

Doubtless one motive of Aristobulus' impetuous onslaught on the retreating invaders, was to obtain possession of the persons of Hyrcanus and his chief counsellor Antipater. In this, however, he was disappointed, as the prudent Idumean had taken timely care of himself and of his master. Aristobulus returned victorious to Jerusalem; and the spoil of the Arabs offered the victors some compensation for the loss Judea had sustained through the invasion. Josephus gives it as his opinion, that, had the Romans not interfered to save him, Aristobulus must have succumbed to Hyrcanus and his Arab ally. This opinion, however, seems but little borne out by facts, when we consider first, how completely Aretas was overthrown by the Jews; and next, how vigorously the temple was defended

against the Romans under Pompey, assailants far more formidable than Aretas and his Arabs.

The king of Judea was not destined long to enjoy his triumph. Pompey in person arrived at Antioch, whence he subsequently proceeded to Damascus. His victory over Tigranes had made him master of all Syria, and had transferred to Rome all the rights possessed by the king of Armenia, and of which Pompey did not hesitate to avail himself. Ambassadors from the neighbouring kings and pretenders appeared to offer the homage of their masters to the great Roman, and to lay at his feet the magnificent presents with which each of them was charged.

From Egypt came a gold crown of great value. Aristobulus sent a golden vine upon a square mount of the same precious metal. The branches, leaves, and fruit of the vine, were most skilfully worked; and on the mount, deer, lions, and other animals of considerable size, sported in life-like attitudes. The whole of this curious and tasteful piece had been made by order of Jannai, for what purpose is not known. Pompey sent it on to Rome, where it was seen by Strabo among the treasures in the temple of Jupiter on the capitol. He relates that it was valued at 500 talents, (about half a million of dollars,) and that the only inscription it bore was, "Alexander, King of the Jews." (Strabo apud Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv cap. 4.) It appears that after Pompey had decided against Aristobulus, the Roman senate determined not in any way to recognise him as king; but at the same time they were equally determined not to return his valuable and beautiful present. Therefore, in order to avoid naming the unfortunate donor, they inscribed on the gift the name of his father, Jannai, who had been the hereditary ally of Rome, but whose intercourse with the mighty commonwealth had carried with it no presents so costly.

At this congress of ambassadors, Aristobulus was repre-

sented by Nicodemus, who had already successfully negotiated for him with Scaurus and Gabinius, while Hyrcanus was represented by the indefatigable Antipater. This acute observer of the times had no sooner discovered the inability of Aretas to uphold the cause of his master Hyrcanus, than all his efforts were directed to ingratiate himself with the Romans, and especially to gain the favour of the vainglorious Pompey. He had nothing to offer but promises, and of these his liberality was boundless. Nicodemus, who was indebted for his previous success to the *present weight* of his reasons, contrasted against the uncertain *future* held out by Antipater, was naturally more circumspect and less prone to make offers that would have to be realized instanter. After he had presented his vine, he thought that nothing further could possibly be required from his master.

But he soon found out his mistake. The Romans were become so corrupt, that even those among them who still preserved some outward show of self-respect, were insatiable of gold. Cicero's letters have preserved to us ample proof that the "noble Brutus"—even Marcus Junius Brutus, *ultimus Romanorum*, "the last of the Romans"—was a common and exacting usurer; and that the great Pompey was an equally greedy extortioner. (*Cic. ad Atticus*, lib. v. epist. xxi. lib. vi. epist. i. ii.) The hundreds of talents which had already been paid to Scaurus and Gabinius ought, according to the opinion of Nicodemus, to have secured the success of his mission. But of these sums none had reached Pompey. The vine, though a most magnificent present, was intended for the republic, not for the general-in-chief.

Moreover, ready money was more productive at the moderate interest of forty-eight per cent. per annum, payable monthly, that these noble Romans were in the habit of exacting from those provinces in Asia which the war-con-

tributions imposed by themselves, had reduced to the necessity of borrowing money on any terms. Nicodemus was therefore pretty plainly informed that money was useful and must be forthcoming. In a moment of anger the poor Jew was ill-advised enough to upbraid the two Roman chiefs, in the hearing of their great commander, with the sums of money which they had already received, and which, as he insinuated, had been given to them—Scaurus and Gabinius—not for themselves alone. The consequence of these ill-timed remarks was to irritate these two lieutenants and confidants of Pompey; and the ever-watchful Antipater soon contrived to convert their irritation into decided enmity against Aristobulus, and to secure their influence with Pompey in favour of Hyrcanus, or rather, as the event proved, of himself.

The Roman general had hitherto carried himself with great fairness between the two contending brothers, had listened to each ambassador with equal attention, and had finally decreed that Hyrcanus and Aristobulus should both appear in person and plead their cause before him at Damascus, early in the ensuing year, (63 B. C. E.,) when he promised to decide the controversy as justice should direct. But though his carriage and expressions were seemingly fair, his conduct, biassed by Scaurus and Gabinius, became partial. The fourth book of Maccabees tells us, (ch. xxxviii.) that at the farewell audience which he granted to Nicodemus, Pompey actually promised that he would decide in favour of Aristobulus; but underhand he acted in favour of Hyrcanus.

The order to appear in person before Pompey, was considered by Aristobulus as degrading to himself and dangerous to the independence of Judea. The haughty manner in which Pompey treated the last heir of Seleucus Nicator, who was not only stripped of the remnant of his ancestral possessions, but grossly insulted, was not at all cal-

culated to reconcile the heir of the Maccabees to the humiliation of dancing attendance before the pretorian tribunal of a haughty Roman. But the entreaties of his friends, and the advice of his most influential counsellors prevailed over his own personal repugnance, and Aristobulus presented himself before the self-constituted umpire of the long-pending dispute. In reply to Hyrcanus, who rested his claims on the right of the elder, and denounced his brother as a usurper, Aristobulus urged necessity, arising from the want of all capability on the part of Hyrcanus. His plea was brief and haughty: "I have already reigned several years," said he, "by the will of my people. And though my brother be the elder, I am forced to wear the crown in self-protection, because his mental weakness and imbecility are well known, and render him utterly incapable of governing!" This, probably, was the very worst plea he could have advanced; for imbecility of character, in the princes under their control, was far from being deemed any disqualification by the Romans, who had their own selfish ends to serve.

Beside these two claimants of the crown, a third party, undesired by either of the others, and equally hostile to both, appeared in the persons of many Jews of high consideration, who pleaded against the descendants of Jochanan Hyrcanus I., that in order to enslave a free people they had changed the form of government from pontifical to regal, contrary to ancient law and usage. But though Pompey, who heard them all with patience, had in his own mind decided the controversy, he still hesitated to pronounce his decision. He was preparing an expedition against Aretas, King of the Arabs, and deemed it of importance that no impediment to the advance of his legions should be thrown in their way by Aristobulus, who might have closed the difficult mountain passes against them. The Roman general therefore declared that he would ad-

journ his decision, and that after his return from his march against Aretas, he would himself visit Jerusalem, and there pronounce judgment between all the contending parties.

The motives which actuated Pompey were too evident to escape the penetration of Aristobulus, who, moreover, had no wish to receive Pompey in Jerusalem, and had not invited him to come there. The king of Judea, therefore, determined at once to return to his own country, and to prepare for defending his cause by arms; and so enraged was he with the supercilious *hauteur* of the Roman, that he left Damascus without taking leave of Pompey. Perhaps Aristobulus calculated on the possibility of making common cause with his late enemy Aretas, against whom the Romans were about to march. But in this expectation he was disappointed. Aretas sent his humble submission and presents to Pompey;[18] and as the Arab ambassadors arrived shortly after the abrupt departure of Aristobulus, the Roman general was at liberty to employ against Judea the expedition he had prepared against Petra.

Pompey professed to be greatly offended at the departure of Aristobulus, though in reality, the inconsiderate conduct of the Judean was most advantageous to the far-reaching policy of Rome. As Tigranes, King of Armenia

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[18] We have followed Josephus, supported by Plutarch, who relates that Pompey did not march into Arabia until he had taken Jerusalem and settled the affairs of Judea. But Appian and Dion Cassius both relate that Pompey did not advance against Judea till after he had subdued Aretas. "After having regulated matters in Syria and Phœnicia," says Dion, "Pompey marched against the king of the Arabs, whose dominions extending to the Red Sea, now form part of the Roman territory. This king and his neighbours he without difficulty reduced to subjection, and placed garrisons in their strongholds. From thence he marched against Syria-Palestine, which was divided between the two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus." (Dio. lib xxxviii. p. 121.)

and Syria, had never possessed any part of the Asmonean monarchy, Pompey, who claimed to be the successor to the rights of Tigranes, had no fair pretence for annexing that important southern district to his new province of Syria. But the contumacious flight of Aristobulus, so insulting to Rome and its representative, called for punishment; and that punishment could be so administered as to compensate Rome for the trouble of marching her legions against Jerusalem, even while the cause of Hyrcanus was upheld.

Pompey collected the troops he had in Syria. Antipater offered the services of the Hyrcanists to facilitate the advance and progress of the legions, while he himself remained with them, acting as their guide; and the feeble Hyrcanus, at his bidding, for the second time followed in the wake of foreign invaders, let loose against his country under the pretext of maintaining his rights. (63 B. C. E.)

BOOK IV.

THE ROMANS IN JUDEA.

CHAPTER XIII.

Pompey's treachery: Aristobulus a prisoner—Hyrcanus received into Jerusalem—Siege and capture of the temple—The observance of the Sabbath—Judea becomes tributary to Rome—Hyrcanus, stripped of royalty, is recognised as high-priest; and Aristobulus, a prisoner, is carried to Italy—Fortifications of Jerusalem demolished—Pompey enters the sanctuary of the temple: orders the public worship to be restored: his return to Rome and triumph—Cicero hostile to the Jews: his oration in defence of Flaccus—Escape of the Asmoneans from Rome—Civil war in Judea—Alexander—Aristobulus—Crassus plunders the temple—His campaigns against the Parthians: his defeat and death—Civil war between Pompey and Cæsar—Death of Aristobulus: of Alexander—Battle of Pharsalia—Defeat and miserable death of Pompey—Hyrcanus declares for the victor.—(From 63 to 48 B. C. E.)

THE Roman legions, guided by Antipater, first entered and took possession of the territories east of Jordan, where Pompey fixed his head-quarters at *Pella*, subsequently the seat of the first Christian bishops of Jerusalem. In addition to the Roman regulars, a great number of Syrian and other auxiliaries followed his standard; and though historians have not preserved to us the exact number of warriors that Pompey led against Jerusalem, a circumstance casually introduced by a Roman writer, in a non-historical work, will enable us to form some idea on the subject. Speaking of the great wealth of many Asiatic landowners of that period, Pliny, among several others, names a certain Ptolemy, "who, at a banquet, entertained

one thousand guests, setting out a dinner service of gold sufficient for them all, and plates changed at every course," "and who," according to the historian Varro, "during the war of Pompey against the Jews, maintained 8000 men, cavalry, as Roman auxiliaries, at his own expense." (Plin. lib. xxiii. cap. x.)

From Pella the Roman general marched to the Jordan, crossed that river, and encamped at the town of *Corea*. Near that town Aristobulus had stationed himself in the strong fortress of *Alexandrion*, upon the road between Jericho and Jerusalem, and well situated to defend the approach to the Jewish metropolis.

During the months intervening between his abrupt departure from Damascus and the approach of Pompey, the king of Judea, seconded by his faithful adherents, had used every exertion to prepare for a vigorous defence. His fortresses, especially the temple of Jerusalem, were well provisioned and strongly garrisoned; and at Alexandrion he himself commanded a considerable body of troops. But the breaking out of hostilities was still delayed; for though Pompey in his own mind had determined to ruin Aristobulus, and had proclaimed himself the ally of Hyrcanus, the Roman general nevertheless persevered in that ambiguous policy which was habitual to Rome.

He seemed to remain open to negotiation with the prince, who, during six years, had been recognised as king of Judea; and pursued a line of conduct admirably described by the sagacious Montesquieu: "Whenever civil dissensions broke out in any kingdom, the Romans at once set themselves up as judges, by which means they made sure of having against them only that party or faction against which they had decided. If princes of the same dynasty advanced conflicting claims to the crown, the Romans sometimes declared each of the claimants to be king, for they had pushed matters to that point that nations as well

as kings were become subject to the Roman commonwealth, without exactly knowing why or by what right. To have heard of the senate, was deemed enough to entitle that irresistible body to exercise its authority." (*Grandeur et Decadence des Romains.* ch. vi.) So long as the strongest fortresses and most important military points throughout the country were in the hands of Aristobulus, Pompey was desirous to avoid a general rising of the entire Jewish nation. His professions, accordingly, were those of a well-meaning ally, and it was in this character that, as soon as he arrived at Corea, and ascertained that Aristobulus was at no great distance from him, he invited the king of Judea to an interview.

Aristobulus was too clear-sighted to be deceived by the professions of Pompey. He would therefore have declined the invitation, but those that were about him prevailed upon him not to throw away the last chance of an amicable arrangement. He was forced to yield, and several interviews took place, at which the king spared neither compliments, promises, nor presents to engage the Roman general on his side. But at each interview Pompey became more exacting, and Aristobulus more agitated by rage and fear. His pride could not reconcile itself to the idea of submitting to the harsh and imperious dictation of a foreign commander; at the same time the downcast looks of his most faithful counsellors, the vastness of the Roman armament, and the internal dissensions of the Jews, led him to fear the complete success of the machinations of Antipater, the man whom of all others he most detested.

This inward struggle imparted to his conduct a character of vacillation and inconsistency that exposed him to contempt as well as censure. It is related that he repeatedly quitted *Alexandrion* with the intention of repairing to the Roman camp and submitting to the terms exacted by Pompey; but that half-way he altered his mind and re-

traced his steps, lest he should be condemned by public opinion for having yielded too soon. At length Pompey grew tired of the loss of time occasioned by the tergiversation of Aristobulus, and seized on the opportunity afforded by a visit of the king of the Jews, to require that all the fortified towns and strongholds of Judea should be put into the hands of the Romans, and that Aristobulus should then and there issue written orders to all the governors and commanders in these fortresses to surrender at once and without resistance. Aristobulus in vain remonstrated, and reminded Pompey of his plighted word which had accompanied the summons to visit the Roman camp, and which assured the king of Judea of perfect freedom to come and go. Pompey would not listen, and Aristobulus, alarmed for his personal safety, was obliged to yield, and to issue the orders for the unconditional surrender of all his fortresses into the hands of Pompey.

And here the authorities differ. According to Josephus, (Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 6,) Aristobulus, as soon as he was permitted to quit the Roman camp, fled with all speed to Jerusalem, with the full resolution to defeat in part, at least, the treacherous design of the Roman, and to prevent the surrender of the metropolis. But according to Dion Cassius, (lib. xxxvii.,) the Jewish king, after having subscribed the order for the surrender of his fortresses, was not permitted to quit the Roman camp, but was retained as a prisoner and loaded with chains.

Whichever of these two accounts be the correct one—and we are inclined to prefer that of Dion Cassius—the stigma of foul treachery remains branded on the name of Pompey. By treachery and the breach of his solemn promise, he obtained possession of the strongholds in Judea; and he seized on the person of Aristobulus by an act of perfidy which nothing can justify, even if we adopt the account of Josephus, as will presently be told. The Ro-

man historian Tacitus, speaking of this invasion of Judea by Pompey, uses the proud expression, "*Romanorum primus, Cn. Pompeius Judæos domuit*"—"Cn. Pompeius was the first Roman who tamed the Jews." (Hist. lib. v. § ix.) But the impartial voice of posterity refuses to allow the haughty claim. Pompey took advantage of the intestine divisions of the Jews to enter their country as the ally of their lawful prince, and marked every step of his progress with perfidy, treachery, and deceit; and finally, in the name of peace and of his ally Hyrcanus, he without opposition appropriated to himself the greater part of the Jewish territory. Conduct like this must be designated by a word very different from *taming*. That conveys the idea of superiority acquired by force; whereas Pompey cheated the Jews in peace and in war, while in fair fight he could gain no advantage over them.

When Pompey, by means of the written orders extorted from Aristobulus, had obtained possession of several fortresses that secured his line of communication and of retreat, he determined to march against Jerusalem. He had advanced as far as the plain of Jericho, and was about to form an encampment, when the labours of his troops were suspended by the sight of horsemen approaching them with great speed, their spears entwined with laurels. These were messengers from Pontus, bringing to Pompey the first tidings of the death of Mithridates. Eager to learn the good news from the mouth of their general, the legionaries, instead of waiting to raise, after the usual manner, a tribunal composed of solid earth, piled hastily their packsaddles and baggage into a *suggestum* or pulpit, from whence Pompey announced to them the tragic end of their formidable enemy.

After his defeat and expulsion from his kingdom of Pontus, Mithridates had fortified himself in the Taurian peninsula, (the present *Crimea*.) Collecting around him

numerous hordes of Scythians, and extending his alliance to the fierce German nations between the Danube and the Vistula, he prepared to carry the war into Italy; a plan which a century before him had been formed by the king of Macedon, who had learned from Hannibal the Carthaginian which was the weak point of the Roman power.

But the followers of Mithridates were terror-stricken at the vastness of his designs; his own sons conspired against him; and the great king, in the seventy-third year of his age, was driven to commit suicide. Cicero styled him "the greatest of kings, next to Alexander," (Academ. lib. ii. cap. i.;) and the joy with which the tidings of his death were received throughout the Roman world, was the most eloquent funeral oration that could be pronounced over him by his enemies. In the camp of Pompey the news diffused general joy, for, according to Roman maxims, the destruction of a hostile king seemed essential to the conclusion of a war. Accordingly, the whole remainder of the day was spent in congratulations and festivity; and the next morning had far advanced before the legions resumed their march toward Jerusalem, and soon arrived in sight of that celebrated and most important metropolis of the East.

That was a great day in the annals of the human race, on which Jerusalem and Rome for the first time stood face to face. Then began that conflict, which during the first two centuries was national, military, and physical; but which since then, assuming a different, a spiritual character, has unceasingly continued, calling forth the utmost exertions of mental and moral power, so evenly balanced that even now, after a lapse of eighteen centuries, it is impossible to decide which symbol has deserved best of mankind, which of the two has evinced the strongest innate principle of life, while each alike aspires to, and entertains hopes of, the glories of the final victory.

Pompey pitched his tent on the mountain of Olives, from whence his eye could embrace the whole extent of the city. According to Josephus, Aristobulus II., in person, held the command in Jerusalem; but, as we have before stated, according to Dion Cassius, that king already languished in chains within the camp of the Roman. Jerusalem itself was in a state of the greatest excitement. We follow Josephus in stating that the partisans of Hyrcanus, who formed the great majority of the populace, with the Pharisees and a great number of the senators at their head, did not conceal their joy at the approach of their *allies*, the Romans, and insisted upon the city gates being opened to the powerful auxiliaries of their legitimate king.

The adherents of Aristobulus, though less numerous, were far more powerful. The priests, who had witnessed the solemn compact sworn to by the two brothers, and who charged Hyrcanus with perjury; the veteran warriors of Jannai, determined to defend the independence of Judea to the utmost; the Sadducees, who dreaded the return to power of Hyrcanus and his Pharisee advisers—all these men, whom the people had long been accustomed to respect and obey, adhered firmly to Aristobulus. But even they, dreading the last extremity, were urgent with their king to renew his efforts for peace with the Roman. Aristobulus himself, who from the lofty summit of the temple-mount could see the vast extent of the lines of the Roman host and their formidable preparations, felt his heart fail within him at the thought of standing opposed, single-handed, to the conquerors and masters of the world. As yet, no blood had been shed; and thinking it possible, even at this the latest moment, to buy off the greedy Romans, the unfortunate Aristobulus yielded to the entreaties of his best friends, and once more entered the Roman camp.

Admitted to the presence of Pompeius, the king of Judea threw himself at the feet of the Roman general, and with

tears in his eyes entreated him to forbear any hostilities against the Jewish nation, promising him a considerable sum of money on condition of his withdrawing his forces from before Jerusalem. Pompey, as if he agreed to the proposal, despatched Gabinius, at the head of a body of troops, to command, in the name of Aristobulus, that the gates of Jerusalem be forthwith opened and the sum of money paid which the king had offered. But Gabinius produced no orders in writing from Aristobulus, nor was that hapless prince permitted to quit the camp of Pompey. The consequence was, that when Gabinius delivered his summons, which he stated was the result of a treaty between his general and their king, the chiefs whom Aristobulus had left in command at Jerusalem expressed their surprise that the king himself had not returned, and refused to comply with the summons until they should have some better authority than the simple assertion of Gabinius.

The Roman, highly offended, returned to his general; and as he was altogether in the interest of Hyrcanus and Antipater, the report of his mission and repulse was so framed as greatly to exasperate Pompey, who conceived or professed[1] himself insulted by the refusal of Aristobulus's officers to obey his summons. He charged the king of Judea with duplicity; reproached him for attempting

[1] According to Jewish historians, the arrest of Aristobulus had been preconcerted between Pompey and Antipater; for the latter, who received continual intelligence of what was passing in Jerusalem, was informed that however clamorous the populace might be in favour of Hyrcanus, there was no chance of the people rising in arms against Aristobulus so long as he was on the spot; but that if he were once out of Jerusalem, there was no one among his partisans of weight sufficient to balance the authority of those chiefs of the Sanhedrin who were in favour of Hyrcanus. Antipater, therefore, strongly urged Pompey to avail himself of the first opportunity that offered to secure the person of Aristobulus; a measure which was certain to be followed by the instant surrender of Jerusalem and submission of the Jews.

the defence of Jerusalem, contrary to his engagement in writing to put all his fortresses in the hands of the Romans; and finally, proclaiming him a traitor and an enemy to Rome, he ordered him to be thrown into chains and consigned to prison, which was immediately done.

The tidings of this event soon reached Jerusalem, and carried to its utmost height the popular agitation and excitement. The friends of Aristobulus raised loud cries of indignation and rage at the treachery of Pompey, and maintained that war to the knife should be persevered in until the king was restored to freedom. The more timid of his adherents gave it as their opinion that, in the actual state of things, it was utterly impossible to free Aristobulus; and that under the circumstances it would be most prudent to submit to Hyrcanus, their native prince, since, by so doing, they would deprive the Romans of all further pretext to interfere in the affairs of Judea. The friends of Hyrcanus were loud in their clamours for instant and unconditional submission to the legitimate monarch, whose right, now that the usurper had been removed, could not be disputed by any one. They were the most numerous, and as their ranks were swelled by all those whose fear of the Romans outweighed every other consideration, they carried the day. The friends of Aristobulus and their adherents, finding the public feeling against them, retired within the fortified precincts of the temple, and abandoned the city of Jerusalem to the friends of Rome.

The Hyrcanites no sooner saw themselves in undisturbed possession of the city of Jerusalem, than they sent a deputation to the Roman camp to invite their legitimate king to enter his loyal metropolis, and to assure his mighty auxiliaries, the Romans, of a friendly and hospitable reception, and of every supply of provisions and stores that Judea could furnish. The deputation was well received, and Hyrcanus, with his counsellor Antipater, once

more entered the royal palace, under the escort of a considerable body of Roman troops, commanded by Piso, a patrician who had been despatched by Pompey to take military possession of the city and of the principal edifices.

The Roman general next summoned the defenders of the temple to surrender, but met with a stern refusal. The chiefs who commanded within its precincts, as well as their followers, were, to a man, devoted to the cause of Aristobulus, and determined, live or die, to uphold it to the last. They execrated Hyrcanus for his perjury and Antipater for his treason. Moreover they looked upon themselves, and justly, as the cause of Aristobulus's catastrophe; since it was contrary to his own judgment, and in consequence of their urgent solicitations, that their king had gone on his last unfortunate errand to Pompey, or that indeed he ever had visited the camp of the invader, and thus given the Roman an opportunity of ensnaring him and throwing him into chains. It, therefore, was become an indispensable condition with them, and without which they refused to listen to any proposals, that Aristobulus should be set at liberty, and replaced in the same situation as when he allowed his noble nature to be deceived by the perfidy of the Roman.

The summons to surrender was sternly rejected, while Romans and Jews prepared for the first time to test each others' prowess. The Romans were a people of soldiers that, during centuries, had been trained to warfare, and possessed in the highest degree all the advantages which discipline, military skill, and experience could bestow; added to which the *prestige* of uninterrupted success imparted to the Roman legionary a feeling of conscious superiority that rendered him almost invincible. On the other hand, the Jews were a people of freemen, agriculturists and herdsmen, fond of peace and justly appreciating its blessings, but imbued with the highest degree of patriot-

ism and devotion to the law of their God and the land of their fathers—a devotion which, under the leadership of the Maccabees, had raised them to the pinnacle of military fame, and had rendered them, not like the Romans, a people of soldiers, but something much superior, a people of heroes, to whom the consciousness of the great principle they represented and defended imparted a degree of superiority not less invincible than that of the Roman. Unfortunately for the Jews, who now, for the first time, were to defy the terrors of the Roman eagle, the disproportion, so vast at all times, between *their* limited means and the inexhaustible resources of the great commonwealth, was on the present occasion still further augmented by their own intestine dissensions. The ranks of the Roman were swelled by Jews; and the rancour of the Hyrcanite against the Aristobulite, of the Pharisee against the Sadducee, was far more deadly than that of the Roman against the Jew.

The temple of Jerusalem stood on the summit of a lofty mountain, three sides of which rise so steep and perpendicular from the ravines that surround it as to be almost inaccessible. The communication between the city and these three sides of the temple-mount—which, in addition to their natural defences, were strongly fortified—was kept up by numerous causeways and bridges, which, however, the royalists—as for distinction's sake we shall style the besieged—took great care to demolish; so that to the east, west, and south they were secured against any attack. To the north the temple-mount is less steep; but this, its only accessible side, was defended by strong walls, high towers, and other fortifications: it also had a wide deep moat and a spacious valley beneath it. The bridges across this moat had been broken down; so that on this side likewise the temple-mount was completely isolated. The experience acquired during the former siege undertaken by Aretas, and the time Aristobulus had for making prepara-

tions against the Romans, had not only pointed out and enabled him to perfect the defences, but also to lay in abundant supplies for the wants of the public worship, as well as for those of the garrison.

Pompey, who arrived in person at Jerusalem shortly after his proposals for a surrender had been rejected, reconnoitred the temple, and soon convinced himself that a fortress so strong, and about to be defended with such vigour and resolution, required all the preparations and appliances for attack that he could possibly command. He began the siege by enclosing the temple-mount with a strong wall to prevent the flight of the besieged or their receiving any help from without. In this work, to which the royalists could offer no interruption, Hyrcanus and Antipater afforded him every assistance as well of materials as of labour; though later military critics considered the erection of this wall as useless labour, since the nature of the ground shut in the besieged as effectually as it kept out the besiegers. Pompey's next measure was to cause a large supply of battering-rams, ballistas or machines for throwing huge stones, and other engines of siege, to be brought from Tyre; and having completed these preliminaries, he directed his actual attack against the only side of the mount that was accessible, the northern.

His battering engines were raised on mounds and platforms, and threw large stones against the walls and into the fortress. The besieged plied their batteries with equal skill and greater success; as fast as the Roman mounds and platforms were raised, the besieged levelled or dismounted them, inflicting great loss in killed and wounded on the besiegers, without suffering much themselves. The siege had already taken up three months without any advantage to Pompey, and might, according to all human probability, have lasted much longer, and perhaps even been raised, had not the royalists themselves, from an excess of sectarian feeling,

ruined their own defence, and permitted the Romans to acquire advantages which greatly facilitated their success.

The sabbath-day was, as is well known, kept holy by the Jews, who strictly abstained from all manner of work. How far this observance was carried in time of war, during the first temple, we have no means of knowing. But during the second temple, and until the time when the Maccabees rose against Antiochus Epiphanes, the observance had been so rigid that the Jews would not even attempt to defend their own lives if attacked on the sabbath-day. Accordingly it is said that Ptolemy I. Soter stormed and took Jerusalem on the sabbath; and it is certain that Antiochus caused a general massacre of the inhabitants of that city to be undertaken on the sabbath; but in neither case was any opposition or resistance offered by the Jews. We have already related how Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, alarmed by the ruinous effects of this over-rigid observance, had directed his attention to the text in Scripture, (Lev. xviii. 5,) which declares of the observances of the Law, that "man shall do them that he may live by them," but not that he was to perish by them; and that, in consequence of this interpretation, it had been declared lawful for a Jew to defend his life if attacked on the sabbath-day. This maxim had been generally acted upon—by Judah when he defeated Nicanor, by Jonathan in his campaign against Bacchides, and on other occasions.

The Pharisees had early adopted the interpretation of Mattathias, though their antagonists felt some scruples as to the extent and precise meaning of "self-defence," and doubts were raised whether it was lawful on the sabbath-day to demolish works raised by the enemy which did not instantly threaten life, whatever they might do ultimately. The Pharisees, more lax, or rather less fettered by the letter in their interpretation of Scripture, permitted the utmost latitude of necessary self-defence, (*Talmud, tr.*

Yomah fo. 85, *Maimon.* pref. *Seder Zeraim;*) and from the words of the text quoted, established the general rule that "the preservation of human life supersedes the observance of the sabbath." But the Sadducees, spell-bound by the letter of the Law, refused to receive this interpretation; and though they respected the decision of Mattathias, they refused to extend its application beyond absolute self-defence against an actual assault on the person with deadly weapons.

During the first months of the siege this Sadducee principle of non-resistance had no opportunity of becoming known to the Romans, because casually, and perhaps as a mark of attention to Hyrcanus, their siege-works on the sabbath-day had not been of any particular importance. But it so happened that on a sabbath-day the Romans were occupied in raising a mound and platform in a position particularly menacing to the garrison of the temple; and they noticed with surprise that, though the besieged watched their work with great attention, no opposition to its progress was offered. The fact was reported to Pompey, who applied for an explanation to Antipater. He had no difficulty in understanding the want of activity on the part of the besieged; and his explication induced Pompey to adopt a line of tactics different from that which hitherto he had employed. He commanded that throughout the week the Romans were to raise no new works, but were to content themselves with defending and strengthening those already erected; but that on the sabbath-day they were to fill up portions of the ditch, and to carry their works as near to the walls as they could, in order to sap them, and to ply their battering-rams; but that they should do this without shooting arrows, stones, or any other missive weapons that might induce the besieged to stand on their defence.

This plan proved successful. The besieged suffered the

Romans to carry on their approaches and to batter the walls on the sabbath-day without offering any opposition. And though they worked hard during the week to repair the breaches, yet their new works, carried on in a hurry and under a galling shower of missiles, were necessarily less solid and capable of resisting the battering-ram than the original masonry. And this difference was so great, that Dion Cassius (lib. xxxvii. 8, 15, 18) does not hesitate to ascribe the successful issue of Pompey's attack altogether to the facility afforded to him by the besieged on "Saturnsday," (the sabbath,) to sap and breach the walls, without which facility "the place would in all probability not have been carried by the Romans."

The consequence was, that after having sapped the foundations, the Roman batteries played against a lofty tower in the north-eastern angle of the mount, and at length threw it down on a sabbath-day. In its fall it carried a large portion of the wall along with it. The Romans no sooner beheld the wide opening before them than with loud shouts they rushed to the assault. Cornelius Faustus Sylla, the son of the celebrated dictator, was the first who with his legion mounted the breach and entered it at one end; Fabius followed him in the centre, and Furius at the other end. The Hyrcanites with eager zeal pressed on and closely followed the Romans. The besieged defended themselves with all the courage of high-souled devotion. But at length numbers prevailed. Twelve thousand Jews, the veterans of King Jannai, sold their lives dearly. Many of their chiefs preferred suicide to captivity; and amid the horrors of the carnage it was remarked that the Hyrcanites acted with greater fury and cruelty against their conquered brethren than the heathen did.

Josephus (Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 4) states that the day fixed upon by Pompey for the general assault was one of public fast and humiliation, but does not give any further

indication of the day. This has caused a considerable difference of opinion among historians. Some assume that the fast-day was that of the 10th month, (Nov.-Dec.,) others, that it was that of the 4th month, (June-July,) while others fix on the day of atonement (September) as the fatal fast which first saw the Roman eagle planted on the temple-mount; and from a circumstance related by Josephus, we ourselves are induced with Salvador (Dominat. Rom. en Judée, i. 235) to fix on the sabbath of sabbaths, the great fast of *Tishri*, the day of expiation and reconciliation, as the one which the insidious counsels of Antipater recommended to Pompey as best adapted to complete the work of implacable hatred, of treason, and of ruin.

The resistance and carnage continued several hours, and did not cease till the last of the defenders, who disputed the ground step by step, had been cut down or overpowered. When, at length, the Romans had forced their way into the inner court, they beheld a sight such as might have awakened their better feelings, had they been possessed of any, especially as it ought to have recalled to them a tragic, yet most glorious, event in the history of their own city. When the Romans were defeated by the Gauls, and the latter, under their Brennus or chief, marched against the doomed city, most of the population evacuated Rome and sought refuge in Veii. A body of brave men remained to garrison and defend the fortress of the Capitol; and the most aged of the senators, disdaining to purchase their small remnant of life by flight, and not wishing to incumber with their helpless debility the retreat of their kinsmen and fellow-citizens, determined to meet their fate in Rome. Each of them, seated on his curule chair in the forum, with his ivory staff or sceptre in his hand, silent and motionless awaited the foe. The Gauls soon entered the almost deserted city and reached the forum. At first

they looked with surprise and admiration at the stern, immovable old men seated before them, and whom they forbore to touch, as they held them to be statues of the gods fashioned by the skilful hand of a sculptor. At length a Gaul, more curious than his fellows, stepped up to Papyrius, and gently stroked the long white beard which adorned that aged senator. The Roman resented the liberty taken with his person, and struck the Gaul with his staff. This became the signal for slaughter, and the noble Romans met death with the same fortitude that had induced them to confront it. Their number cannot have been great; but their patriotic devotion has immortalized their memory.

A sight similar, but infinitely more dignified and holy, was now offered in the court of the temple. When the Romans burst in upon them, the officiating priests were assembled around the altar, and engaged in the afternoon service and sacrifices. During all the din of assault and battle, amid the shouts of the combatants and the shrieks of the dying, these servants of the living God had not for one moment intermitted their duty, but continued to offer up the usual prayers, praises, and sacrifices with the same calmness and God-fearing devotion that characterized their worship on every solemn occasion; and at last they suffered themselves to be butchered with the utmost fortitude, their blood mingling with that of the animals they themselves had sacrificed, not one of them condescending to interrupt his sacred service to interchange a word with his assailants or to beg his life at their hands.

Their heroic composure is said to have excited the admiration of Pompey, who distributed magnificent rewards to those of his warriors that had most distinguished themselves. The aid he had received from Hyrcanus, and the wish not to cause fresh bloodshed by exasperating the inhabitants of Jerusalem, induced Pompey to protect the

sacred edifice of the temple, so that the building itself received no great injury. But the defences, not only of the temple-mount, but also of the city of Jerusalem, were utterly demolished, and those among the few prisoners who had been most zealous in the cause of Aristobulus were put to death without pity. Some of the friends of the ill-fated chief had forestalled the hatred of Antipater and the sword of Rome, by suicide, throwing themselves down from the lofty battlements of the temple-mount, or setting their apartments on fire and perishing in the flames. Thus the feeble Hyrcanus, or rather the malignant and ambitious Antipater, enjoyed a revenge on their adversaries which, though long delayed, was, in appearance at least, complete, since the personal friends and adherents of Aristobulus all perished.

But though Pompey, because it suited his purpose, had thus far done the work of Antipater, the Roman next proceeded to do the work of his commonwealth. By the authority of his prætorian tribunal, the cause between the two brothers was decided in favour of Hyrcanus, while Aristobulus and his sons were sentenced to be carried prisoners to Rome. The same tribunal next proceeded to examine and judge the complaint preferred by the Jewish people against the Asmoneans, that they had contrary to right and ancient usage converted their high-priestly dignity into a royal one. The sentence pronounced was against Hyrcanus, in whose cause Pompey had affected such deep concern. The Asmonean was stripped of his royal diadem and reduced solely to his function of high-priest; and thus he became ingloriously confounded with the crowd of other princely hierarchs, tributary dependants on Rome. Lastly, all conquests made by the Asmonean princes were declared to be forfeited to Rome; the authority of the high-priest Hyrcanus was limited to Judea Proper; and for this he was held to pay a heavy annual

tribute to Rome. By his powerful dictum Pompey thus and at once annihilated the work of a century, and replaced Judea and its people in that state of dependance and tribute in which they had been under the Seleucidæ, whose successor, by virtue of the cession of Tigranes, King of Armenia, the senate of Rome declared itself.

But deeply as all these acts of Pompey affected the welfare and glory of the Asmoneans, he mortified the Jewish people even in a more painful degree, and that with no other view than the gratification of his own idle curiosity. It is well known with what jealous care the Jews watched over the due observance of that precept of the Law which closed the interior of the temple against the intrusion of any person not of the sacerdotal race of Aaron, and which interdicts even the high-priest from penetrating into the holy of holies oftener than once in every year, on the day of atonement. The report circulated by the Greeks ascribed the most *outré* character to the mysteries of Jerusalem; and Pompey, the spoilt child of fortune, determined to see with his own eyes and to judge for himself. All entreaties on the part of Hyrcanus and of the leading Jews who had joined the Romans were vain. Pompey, attended by a number of his principal lieutenants, entered the sanctuary, and with curious eye viewed the golden table, candlestick, altar of incense, censers, lamps, and numerous other utensils, all of pure gold. He then drew the vail that separated the "holy" from the "holy of holies," but to his great surprise found that innermost recess of the temple perfectly empty. "Pompey penetrated into the temple of Jerusalem by the right of victory," says Tacitus. "He discovered that this sanctuary contained the effigy of no divinity. The innermost crypt was quite empty, and no rites (or mysteries) were ever performed therein." (Hist. lib. v. § iv.)

Still the sacredness of the place appears to have inspired

the sacrilegious intruder with uncommon respect, not to say with awe. For though he found two thousand talents (above two millions of dollars) in the treasury, and a vast quantity of rich perfumes and spices, yet, contrary to the usual greediness that characterized the Romans of his age, and from which he himself was by no means free, he did not appropriate to himself any thing whatever of all that the temple contained, but instantly issued orders that the priests and officers should purify the sanctuary and its courts, and should at once resume the worship and daily sacrifices. Cicero highly commends the respect Pompey showed to the sacred utensils of the temple. (*Orat. pro. L. Flacco.*) Many other writers likewise mention the circumstance. "But this moderation did not hinder the Jews from resenting the indignity he had offered to that holy place more than all the mischiefs they had suffered from him, and from ascribing all the misfortunes that afterward befell him to that sacrilegious attempt. Many Christians have been of the same mind, and men are indeed too apt to judge rashly in matters of this nature. But whatever may have been the cause of that great general's misfortunes, it is plain that this victory over the Jews was the last he ever gained, and that from this time his affairs went from bad to worse, until he perished," miserably and ignominiously. (Universal Hist. vol. x. p. 374, note 1.)

Shortly after this outrage on the feelings of the Jews, Pompey left Jerusalem. Some writers will have it that he was haunted with a restlessness of mind and unnatural dread, that did not permit him to stay within sight of the temple. At all events, it is certain that his slow progress along the coasts and islands of Greece—often retarded that he might listen to the sweet voice of praise or witness the solemn celebration of his own victories—did not evince any great hurry to return to Rome, or to lay down his command; and that, consequently, his anxiety to reach home

was not the cause of his abrupt departure from Jerusalem. To us, however, it appears that the sober life at that time led in Jerusalem, where debauchery was unknown, and licentiousness was altogether foreign to the people, held out no inducements for a longer sojourn in that city to the luxurious patricians of the last corrupt age of the republic, who surrounded Pompey and ministered to his vanity, even as he ministered to their love of pleasure and of money.

He carried along with him, as prisoners, and destined to grace his triumph, the unfortunate Aristobulus, with his two sons Alexander and Antigonus, two daughters, and his uncle Absalom. The whole number of royal and illustrious captives who walked before the chariot of their victor as he entered Rome in his triumphal procession, the most splendid that had ever been seen, was not less than three hundred and twenty-four, among whom Aristobulus, the king of Judea, and the younger Tigranes, the rebellious heir-apparent of the king of Armenia, were the most important. Pompey was the first among Roman triumphators to discontinue the barbarous custom of putting the captives to death in the capitol after this public exhibition. All his captives were liberated and sent home at the public expense, with the exception of Tigranes and Aristobulus, who were detained as prisoners in Rome, lest they should excite disturbances in their respective countries. Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus, had contrived to make his escape before the prisoners reached Rome, and returned to Judea, where his enterprises became the cause of much useless bloodshed, as we shall presently relate.

In Cicero's letters (*ad. Attic.* lib. ii. epist. ix.) he designates Pompey by the sesquipedalian epithet of *Hierosalymarius*, or "victor of Jerusalem." This has frequently been considered as an expression of scorn against the Jewish people. But this is a mistake; the sneer is aimed at

Pompey himself, and is intended to ridicule the excessive vanity with which Pompey arrogated to himself great glory for his success against a king who had not been vanquished, but betrayed; and for his conquest of a city that opened its gates to receive him as an ally. And this application of the word is abundantly proved by many other expressions in these letters, in which the correspondent of Atticus is by no means sparing of his jeers, but freely exposes the weakness, the mock moderation, but real arrogance, of Pompey and of his pretensions.

It is true that Cicero had no great love for the Jews. Three years after the storming of the temple we find him engaged in conducting the defence of L. Valerius Flaccus, accused of extortion and malversation in his office of governor of Pergamus. Had Cicero conducted the prosecution, he would, doubtless, have consigned Flaccus to perpetual infamy as a second Verres. But the great orator was retained for the defence, and neglected no means that the skill of the advocate could suggest to whitewash his client. Lelius, the prosecutor, had assembled a number of witnesses, Greeks from the cities of Asia Minor, and Jews from Pergamus. The latter were to prove that Flaccus had seized and confiscated the money collected by the Jews as their annual tribute to the temple at Jerusalem, and the amount of which, for the greater facility of carriage, had been converted into gold coin. The act of spoliation could not be denied, nor yet that it was an unlawful stretch of power, violating at once the rights of property and the rights of conscience.

To counteract the impression likely to be produced against his client by these witnesses, the advocate skilfully avails himself of the prejudices existing in the minds of the Romans against Greeks and Jews, and his plea throws great light on the popular reproach to which, in that age, each of these two races were subject. The Greek is ac-

cused of treachery, the Jew of turbulence and superstition. "As to the entire race of Greeks," exclaims Cicero, "I grant their superiority in literature, in arts, in the graces of language, in the acuteness of mind, and in the abundant flow of speech. Should the Greeks lay claim to other similar advantages, I am not disposed to deny them. But never did that nation know or recognise the sacred obligation of truth, while bearing testimony as witnesses. Their evidence is always framed to injure, and never in good faith." "As to the Jews," he continues, "thou knowest, Lelius, how numerous and how united they are. To oppose their barbarous superstition is, it appears, to be deemed an act of cruelty; to despise, when the good of the commonwealth demands it, the clamours of this multitude of Jews, so turbulent in our meetings, is, forsooth, to be considered as a serious offence. Flaccus acted wisely, as by sending to Rome the gold destined for Jerusalem he resisted and weakened the cause of this pernicious and hostile superstition. Pompey indeed acted differently when he took Jerusalem. He did not use his right as conqueror, and left untouched the temple in that city. But he likewise acted wisely, as he did in many other instances, since he gave no opening to his detractors in a city so suspicious and backbiting; for I shall never believe that any regard for the religion of Jews and enemies was the motive of his forbearance. All states have their religion. We Romans have ours. While Jerusalem flourished, and before its inhabitants broke peace with Rome, the sacred rites of that people were deemed opposed to the institutions of our ancestors, the gravity of the Roman name, and the majesty of the Roman empire. Far more, assuredly, ought this to be our judgment now, when the Jews, by taking arms, have shown their hostile disposition toward us, and when their defeat, dispersion, and subjugation have proved how hostile the gods are to them." (*Orat. pro L. Flacco*, c. 28.)

It is amusing to see this *pious* advocate, this philosophical M. Tullius Cicero, whose veneration for the gods of Rome was not one whit greater than that which any Jew entertained for them,—it is amusing to see how this eloquent pleader contrives to adduce the misfortunes of the Jews as a sufficient reason to prove that his and Flaccus' gods hate them; and that, therefore, the latter was not only free of guilt, but even praiseworthy, for having robbed them of their property and insulted their religious feelings. It becomes painful when we remember how often during the Middle Ages monks and friars repeated the argument of Cicero to defend acts far more nefarious than those Flaccus had committed. But it is absolutely heart-rending to think that grave divines in this (*soi-disant*) enlightened age should still cling to the absurd sophism by means of which Cicero, the advocate, tried to palliate the guilt of his client; that we should still be told, "You Jews are defeated, dispersed, subjugated; *ergo*, you must be wrong;" and what is infinitely worse, that men who profess to "love God" should oppress and persecute the Jew because his sufferings prove "that God hates him."

At his departure, Pompey left Scaurus with two legions in Syria; but no Roman troops remained in Judea, where Hyrcanus, as ethnarch (prince) and high-priest, assumed the government, or rather lent the sanction of his name and authority to the government of his vizier, Antipater. And as Hyrcanus, alone of all his race, walked through the splendid apartments of his royal palace, so lately inhabited by his grandchildren, now on their road as prisoners to Rome, he could at his leisure regret and repent the infatuation or weakness that had first prompted him to break his oath and to disturb the peace of Judea. He had succeeded in overthrowing his brother, but at what price? The house of Asmoneus discrowned, the walls of Jerusalem and of the temple-mount demolished, vast territories—the glorious

acquisitions of his father and grandfather—wrested from him, not by the fortune of war, but by fraud and iniquity; and, more galling still, the heathen had set his sacrilegious foot within the "holy of holies," where Hyrcanus himself dared not to enter but once a year; while Judea had been blotted out from the list of independent kingdoms, and harnessed as a tributary to the triumphal car of all-devouring Rome.

Such were the bitter fruits of his weakness, the sacrifices at the price of which he nominally, and Antipater virtually, were become rulers of what still remained of the kingdom of Judea. As he alone, of all his family, trod the royal hall of Baris Castle, it must forcibly have struck him that all which had been done had served no other purpose than to advance Antipater. But that very impression helped the more firmly to rivet the chains of Hyrcanus. Timidity was his besetting failing: that and mental impotency combined to perpetuate the supremacy of his all-powerful favourite, whom he no longer loved, but whom he feared all the more. Antipater could easily read what passed through the mind of his feeble master; and as the favour of Rome had been the great cause of Antipater's exaltation, he determined, by all means, to preserve that favour. Whether or not he already harboured the ambitious design of supplanting the Asmoneans, and of raising his own house in their stead, it is impossible to decide. But every step taken by that far-sighted politician was ably calculated to extend his own influence and to secure the gratitude and friendship of the Romans.

It was to him that Scaurus was beholden for a supply of corn and other provisions, without which the Roman army then on its march against the metropolis of Aretas, King of the Arabs, would have been in danger of perishing. This service was followed by another. Antipater, availing himself of his ancient connection with Aretas, suc-

ceeded in persuading the king of the Arabs to pay three hundred talents to the Roman general, and by that means restored peace between this chief and the Romans. It is also to the influence of Antipater that we are to ascribe the favours extended by Hyrcanus to the Athenians, and which were so important that their senate passed a decree, in which the pontiff of Jerusalem is styled a great friend and benefactor to all the Greeks, and particularly to the Athenians; and that in return for his benefactions they decree him a crown of gold and a statue of brass to be placed in the temple of *Demus* and the *Graces*.[2] (Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 9.)

In the midst of his schemes for his own aggrandizement and that of his family, Antipater was disagreeably disturbed by the unexpected return to Judea of Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus, who had contrived to escape from the custody of Pompey, and hastened back to his native land. Though the principal chiefs of the Sadducees, Aristobulus' party, had perished in the storming of the temple-mount and the subsequent executions, yet the party itself still survived; and when the return of Alexander became known, the partisans of his father rallied around him, so that in a short space of time he found himself at the head of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. His first care was to repair the strongholds of *Alexandrion*, *Hyrcania*, and *Machæron*, situated near the foot of the Arabian mountains; and having thus secured to himself places of refuge strongly fortified, he began to make in-

[2] *Demus* is the word used in the Greek of Josephus, which some versions render "of the people." The learned Calmet, however, is of opinion that there is an error in the Greek text of Josephus, and that it was the temple of the *Muses* and *Graces*, sometimes called the temple of *Academus* and the Graces. It is related that there was, in the *Academy* at Athens, a temple of the *Muses* in which *Plato* set up the statues of the Graces. No other temple of the Muses in Athens is mentioned by any writer.

roads into Judea, and to inflict great loss on the adherents of Hyrcanus.

The high-priest and his vizier, Antipater, had no forces to send against the invader; and when for their own protection they began to repair the walls of Jerusalem, they were compelled, by the jealousy of the Romans, to desist from this necessary work of self-defence. The unresisted progress of Alexander became so highly alarming, that Antipater was at length obliged to apply to the Romans for assistance. His friend Scaurus had returned to Italy. But as the threatening preparations of the Parthians evinced their design of attacking the Roman dominions on the Euphrates, and it was deemed needful that a general of high reputation should hold the command in the East, Gabinius, another lieutenant of Pompey and friend of Antipater, was appointed governor of Syria. (57 B. C. E.) Immediately after his arrival, he made it his first care to attack Alexander, whom a community of interests rendered the natural ally of the Parthians against Rome.

The existence and the constant intercourse and intimate relations of the great Jewish population residing on the Parthian shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, with Judea, secured to this alliance great strength and lasting durability. Throughout the long struggle which Aristobulus and his two sons successively, and during a period of more than a quarter of a century, maintained against Rome, the Parthians were the firm allies of the patriot Jews who wished to regain the independence of their country and to expel the nominees of Rome, Hyrcanus and Antipater with his house. As during more than two hundred years the power of Parthia balanced the power of Rome, and frequently inflicted on it heavy blows and great losses, the alliance between Jews and Parthians outlived not only the dynasty of the Asmoneans, but also the destruction of Jerusalem. And it is thus early that we behold the cause of that ex

treme irritation and rancour which Jewish nationality called forth in the Romans, and which eventually led to that plan of extermination that the Romans twice attempted to carry out against the Jews, both in Judea and in their Eastern colonies; once under an emperor celebrated as most generous in his conquests, and the second time under another emperor, the greatest lover of peace among the monarchs of Rome.

As Gabinius himself could not find time to march in person into Judea, he intrusted the command in that country to Mark Antony, subsequently so celebrated in history as the *triumvir*, the lover of Cleopatra, the competitor of Augustus Cesar for the empire of the world. This Roman officer was soon joined by Antipater at the head of such Jewish forces as the Hyrcanites had been able to raise, and the command of whom the wily Idumean shared with the two men he most dreaded, Malichus and Pitolaus, whose influence with Hyrcanus almost equalled his own, and whom Antipater now carried with him, lest, during his absence, they should work his ruin.

Alexander, true to the traditions of the Maccabees, who never shut themselves up in a fortress unless at the last extremity, kept the open country till he was nearly surrounded by the allied armies, superior to his own in numbers, in discipline, and in military skill. At length, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, it came to a murderous battle, in which Alexander was defeated with the loss of three thousand men, but nevertheless cut his way through the Romans, and with the remains of his army reached Alexandrion in tolerable order. Unable any longer to keep the field, the Jews threw themselves into that fortress, where they were soon besieged by Gabinius himself, who had now arrived on the scene of action. But as this general perceived that the reduction of so strong a place would require much time, he left a sufficient force to blockade it,

while he himself made a progress through the country, and in conformity with the instructions he had received from Pompey, caused several cities to be rebuilt that during former wars had been demolished. The principal among these were Samaria, destroyed by Jochanan Hyrcanus I., and Gaza, destroyed by King Jannai. The former of these towns the Roman called after his own name, *Gabiniana*, which, however, a few years later, by the command of King Herod, was changed into *Sebaste*. From this journey Gabinius returned to his camp before Alexandrion, which fortress still held out, though the garrison was greatly straitened for provisions. But before Alexander was reduced to extremity, his mother interposed her influence in his behalf. This lady, celebrated for her eloquence, and possessed of remarkable wisdom and prudence, was considered well-disposed and friendly to the interests of Rome. She therefore had remained in Judea when her husband and children were carried off by Pompey. And as she had cause to fear that the prolonged and desperate resistance of Alexander might cause the destruction of Aristobulus and of her other children, still detained as prisoners of war, she used every effort to mollify the Roman. For this purpose, and by her directions, Alexander offered to surrender the fortress of Alexandrion, together with the other strongholds in his possession, and to evacuate the country; while his mother repaired to Gabinius, and exerted all her powers of persuasion to obtain a compromise for her son. Her efforts were successful. It was agreed upon that, on the surrender of the three fortresses, Alexander and his troops should be permitted to depart and disperse without molestation. Gabinius also promised that, in consideration of her services on the present occasion, all her children then detained in Rome should be restored to her—a promise which did not receive its fulfilment till some considerable time later.

As soon as Gabinius obtained possession of the three strongholds, he caused them to be demolished, that they might not again serve as the asylum for insurgents; for the population of Palestine, hitherto so orderly and industrious, began to display a discontented and mutinous spirit. As Gabinius feared that the influence of the great Sanhedrin at Jerusalem might be, or had been, in some way, instrumental in producing or in fostering this dangerous state of mind among the people, he determined to abolish the great national council, and also the lesser Sanhedrin or municipal councils that in every city of note dispensed justice, subject to the authority of the supreme tribunal. Instead of these ancient and national institutions, Gabinius divided all Judea into five districts, appointing for the government of each an executive council, located at Jerusalem, Jericho, Gaddara, Amathis, and Sephoris. The purpose of this change was to destroy that nationality and centralization which made Jerusalem the centre of union and of authority to all Jews; and to substitute in its stead a sectional aristocracy, that, powerless beyond the limits of its own canton, was nevertheless sufficiently influential within its district to nullify the authority of the prince and to place his supremacy in abeyance. Accordingly, this division of power was so little agreeable to Hyrcanus, or rather to his vizier, Antipater, that he did not rest until, at the first favourable moment, he restored the ancient and national order of things.

After reconducting Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and confirming him in his high-priesthood, Gabinius returned to Syria. But scarcely had the Roman governor left Judea, before Aristobulus, accompanied by his younger son, suddenly appeared in his native land. The dethroned king had escaped from his prison in Rome; and as he had never given his assent to the dismemberment of the Judean monarchy, or to any of the changes wrought by the Romans,

so that no perjury was committed by him in resisting them; as, moreover, he was known to be personally a man of courage and enterprise—his party at once revived, and thirty thousand men hastened to place themselves under his banner, most of them, however, without arms or military training. He was also joined by Pitolaus, a chief of great influence, who had always been firmly attached to Hyrcanus, but bitterly hated Antipater, whose dangerous designs he was too clear-sighted not to perceive. He was attended by one thousand veteran warriors, armed and equipped for battle, and his coming was therefore doubly welcome to Aristobulus, who knew and respected his valour.

The king had determined not to expose to needless danger the vast multitude that, unarmed and defenceless, would only incumber his movements without augmenting his strength. Of all that had joined him, he therefore only retained eight thousand men, and with these he marched toward the ruins of Alexandrion, with the intention of restoring that stronghold and of there establishing his headquarters. But he was not permitted to reach it. Gabinius, who had received early intelligence of Aristobulus' undertaking, and whose army had been concentrated for action, at once despatched his own son Cœsenna against him, at the head of considerable forces, and appointed two distinguished officers, Mark Antony and Servilius, as military counsellors. They intercepted the march of Aristobulus, and forced him to fight a battle, in which, notwithstanding the extreme bravery evinced by himself and his troops, superior numbers prevailed, and he was defeated with the loss of five thousand men.

With one thousand he escaped the carnage, and threw himself into the ruins of Machæron, the small remnant of his army taking to flight and dispersing. The Romans followed him closely, and after an obstinate conflict of two days carried the ruins by storm and took prisoner Aristo-

bulus, who was covered with wounds, and his son Antigonus, both of whom were sent back to Rome to their old prison. On the remonstrances of Gabinius, however, who reminded the senate of the engagement he had entered into with the wife of Aristobulus, the children of that unfortunate monarch were set at liberty, while he himself was kept in close custody during several years. In the account which Plutarch gives of this campaign against Aristobulus, (Life of Mark Antony, § 3,) he speaks of the Jewish forces as far more numerous than those of the Romans opposed to them. But this is only true with regard to the body that first assembled around Aristobulus, and whom, for want of arms, he was obliged to dismiss; whereas, in the numbers that actually fought, the Romans were by far superior.

Gabinius had at that time concentrated his whole army near Palestine, on its march to Egypt. The Roman triumvirate, formed by Pompey and his coadjutors in the government of Rome, Cesar and Crassus, had entered into an agreement with Ptolemy Auletes, King of Egypt, who had been expelled by his subjects, but whom, in consideration of the payment of 10,000 talents, (about ten millions of dollars,) the Romans undertook to reinstate on his throne. The triumviri charged the governor of Syria with the duty of carrying out this arrangement; and, unfortunately for Aristobulus, his attempt on Judea took place at the very time that Gabinius had completed his preparations and was actually about to march through Palestine. This circumstance explains how the Romans came to be so quickly at hand and in such considerable numbers. After the defeat of Aristobulus, the Roman general continued his march to Egypt. He had been furnished with letters by Hyrcanus, addressed to the numerous Jews residing in that country, and especially at *Onion*, near *Pelusium*, the key of Egypt. In these letters the high-priest charged

his coreligionists to forward, to the best of their power, the cause of Rome and of their legitimate sovereign, Auletes. Hyrcanus also supplied Gabinius with corn, arms, and money; and the fourth book of Maccabees (ch. xl.) tells us that Gabinius, meeting with greater resistance than he expected in Egypt, desired Hyrcanus to come and join him; that Hyrcanus, unwilling to quit Jerusalem in person, sent his favourite Antipater with a considerable body of Jewish troops; and that by their assistance the Egyptians were conquered and King Auletes restored to his throne. (56 B. C. E.)

The attempt Aristobulus made to recover his throne had been too quickly suppressed to permit his eldest son, Alexander, to join him. It had been the misfortune of these two Asmonean princes that their efforts had, from necessity, been so ill-timed that they could not co-operate together; that, just before Aristobulus began to act, Alexander had been reduced to inactivity; and that before the latter could aid his father, the old king had been defeated and taken prisoner. Alexander, however, did not lose courage. The absence of Gabinius with the Romans, of Antipater with the veterans of Hyrcanus, seemed to the young prince an opportunity too favourable to be neglected. Alexander once more appeared in Judea, and soon saw himself at the head of a body of men even more numerous than that which had joined his father; for the national discontent was general, the hatred of the Romans intense; and the country began to swarm with bands of armed freebooters, who plundered every one known or suspected of attachment to Hyrcanus and Rome. Cœsenna, the son of Gabinius, who commanded a small body of Roman troops, was unable to stem the torrent. He was worsted in several encounters, numbers of his men were slain, and eventually he was forced to intrench himself on Mount Gerizim, where Alexander closely besieged him. The son

of Aristobulus thus became master of Northern and Central Judea, while Hyrcanus, unprotected and alone, was trembling in defenceless Jerusalem.

In this crisis of his affairs, Gabinius, having fully succeeded in Egypt, hastened back to Judea with his army, in order to relieve his son and to protect his ally. He first sought to recall Alexander to reason, and for that purpose sent Antipater to the Jewish camp to point out to the rebels how hopeless was their attempt against the overwhelming power of Rome. And so well did that skilful intriguer discharge his mission, that great numbers of the insurgents, frightened at his threats or allured by his promises, quitted the standard of Alexander and returned to their homes.

Alexander, enraged at seeing his high hopes thus melting into thin air, and alarmed lest a longer delay might behold him altogether abandoned, resolved, too precipitately, to stake the success of his cause on the issue of a battle. He was still at the head of thirty thousand men, but badly armed, and for the most part deficient in every soldierly quality, except bodily strength and bravery. The troops of Gabinius, on the contrary, Romans as well as Hyrcanites, were veterans highly disciplined, skilled in the use of arms, and admirably officered. The two armies met near Mount Tabor, and, as was to be expected, Alexander was defeated with the loss of ten thousand men; his army dispersed, and he himself fled. His general Pitolaus, however, succeeded in rallying a body of the fugitives, and threw himself into *Tarichæa*, a stronghold on the south shore of Lake *Gennezareth*, and which subsequently became celebrated by its heroic resistance against the legions of Vespasian and Titus.

This dreadful defeat spread the terror of the Roman arms through Judea, and for a brief space restored something like peace to that distracted country. The victor

Gabinius visited Jerusalem, settled the affairs of Judea according to the wishes of Antipater, and then returned to Rome, followed by the execrations of the Syrians and their complaints of his insatiable rapacity and extortions. He was succeeded in the government of the East by M. Licinius Crassus, one of the *triumviri*, who, dividing the Roman world with them, had received for his share the East and the command in the impending war against the Parthians. Crassus was a man of limited abilities, immense wealth, and boundless avarice. His character is well described by his biographer, Plutarch, who relates that "according to public opinion Crassus knew more about raising taxes than about conducting a war. The character of his mind partook more of the money-broker than of the commander of an army; and his time was chiefly employed in weighing the gold and silver that he contrived to amass." At the time of his undertaking the war in the East, he was upward of sixty years of age; but he hastened to that lucrative scene of action with all the enterprise of youth, stimulated by the avidity of old age. Regardless of the civil affairs of Asia, his sole care, when he arrived, was to collect men and money, and to ransack every repository of treasure, even the most sacred.

The fact that the temple in Jerusalem possessed a treasury containing two thousand talents, besides vessels of gold and of silver to at least an equal amount, was well known, and formed one of the principal inducements why Crassus had been in such a hurry to start off for his government in the East, even before the year of his consulate at Rome was expired. He had, with some difficulty, extorted from the senate a decree empowering him to declare war against the Parthians, and investing him with power and authority almost equal to that which had been intrusted to Pompey in the war against Mithridates. Of the three men who,

at that time, divided the Roman world between them, Pompey coveted power in order to gratify his inordinate vanity and pride; Cæsar, to satisfy the restless activity of his mind and the ceaseless cravings of his animal spirits; but Crassus valued power only as a means of making money. On his arrival in Jerusalem at the head of a large army, he made no secret of his intention to carry off the treasures which Pompey had left untouched. The guardians of the temple treasury, powerless to resist, would have been but too happy to have compounded with the avarice of Crassus, by giving up the treasury, if he would only have consented to spare the consecrated utensils. But Crassus knew his power, and that the whole was more than a part. The wants of the state, in the impending great war, formed the pretext, and it was evident that nothing less than all would satisfy Crassus.

In this extreme, the treasurer of the temple, Eleazar the priest, made one last effort to save the consecrated utensils. There was in the temple a large beam of massive gold, covered by another hollow beam of wood, that traversed the entire width of the inner building, and divided the "holy" from the "holy of holies." The vail that separated the two compartments was fastened to this beam; and the old vails were thrown across it whenever a new one was hung up. Thus, this costly piece, which weighed three hundred Hebrew minæ, or seven hundred and fifty pounds of solid gold, was perfectly concealed; its existence was known, indeed, only to the treasurer and to the high-priest. The treasurer, Eleazar, was imprudent enough to enter into a bargain with Crassus; and the Roman having solemnly sworn that in consideration of receiving this immense ingot he would leave the rest of the consecrated property untouched, the credulous Jew placed the precious beam in his possession.

But Crassus was not a man to be bound by oaths when

gold was in question. The temple was stripped of all the valuables he could lay his hands on, without sparing even the most sacred utensils. The total amount of his plunder exceeded ten thousand attic talents, (ten millions of dollars.) Josephus, who relates the fact, fearing that other nations might not believe him, deems it right to appeal to the writings of Strabo the Cappadocian, and to other records not now extant. (Antiq. lxiv. cap. 12.) And the amount is really so large as to appear almost fabulous. We must, however, bear in mind that the temple of Jerusalem treasured the accumulated gifts and offerings that, during upwards of a century of prosperity, Jews from all parts of the world had presented, and the costly works of art, in gold and in silver, by which the Asmonean rulers and kings of Judea, as well as monarchs of other countries, evinced their respect and veneration for that most holy temple. And when it is borne in mind that the Jews have at all times been fond of enriching and adorning their places of worship with precious utensils and ornaments, the wealth accumulated in the temple, great as it was, will appear by no means incredible. (54 B. C. E.)

But Crassus was not long to enjoy the fruits of his perjury. He led an army of one hundred thousand men against the Parthians; and such was the terror of his name and arms that, at first, he carried every thing before him. But his excessive avarice ruined his success, by causing him to waste his time, to disgust his auxiliaries, and to exasperate his enemies; until the treachery of his own allies and the vigorous measures adopted by the Parthians, whom he gave time to recover from their first stupor, involved him and his army in utter destruction. Before his own death, the wretched father had to endure the torturing sight of the head of his only son stuck on a Parthian lance, and insultingly displayed before the Roman legions. In vain Crassus, though struck with the greatest anguish, de-

clared the misfortune to be a private one, and exhorted the Romans not to lose heart at the death of a single soldier—his time and theirs was come. After a series of disasters, Crassus was compelled by his officers to consent to an interview with the *Surena*, as the chief commander of the Parthians was styled, both parties having sworn to a truce. In this interview the perjured Roman fell a victim to the perjury of the Parthian; while of his vast army scarcely one-tenth part saved itself by flight, and returned into Syria.

Among those who escaped was a body of horse under the command of *C. Cassius*, afterwards so celebrated as one of the chiefs of the conspiracy against Cæsar. The disasters suffered by the army of Crassus had destroyed subordination. Several of the officers who commanded under the ill-fated pro-consul had abandoned him and taken their flight to Syria some time before the final catastrophe. The chief of these fugitives was Cassius, who, being advised to wait a few days till the moon should have passed Scorpion, replied, that "of all signs in the zodiac he minded only Sagittarius," meaning the Parthian archers, whose arrows even transpierced the Roman bucklers. (Plut. p. 562.) As highest in rank among the survivors, the remains of Crassus' luckless troops rallied around him; and assuming the command in Syria, his military skill enabled him to repel the inroads of the Parthians, and finally, on the arrival of reinforcements from Rome, to defeat them with such loss that they were compelled to retreat and wait for reinforcements.

Cassius next marched into Judea, where Pitolaus, the enemy of Antipater and chief of the party of Aristobulus, held the fortress of *Tarichæa*, and had not only stirred up a great body of Jews to rebel against Hyrcanus, but had also endeavoured to establish relations with the Parthians, and to receive a body of them as his auxiliaries into Judea.

To prevent this dangerous junction, Cassius laid siege to and stormed *Tarichæa*. Numbers of Jews were made prisoners, and among them Pitolaus himself, who, at the instigation of Antipater, was put to death. After this exploit, Cassius visited Jerusalem and reconciled Hyrcanus to his rebellious subjects. (Fourth Maccabees, xl.)

Ever since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes and Nicanor, the Jews had adopted the maxim, that whosoever injured Israel or was wanting in respect to the temple of Jerusalem would be sure, ere long, to be overtaken by the divine vengeance and severely punished. The catastrophe which befell Crassus—under whose leadership the Romans suffered a discomfiture the like of which they had never before experienced—was every way calculated to confirm the Jews in that belief, which, however, received its crowning proof from the miserable end of the great Pompey. The loss Rome sustained by the destruction of an army in the East was more than compensated by the success and conquest of Cæsar in the West, where he added all Gaul (the modern empire of France, with Belgium to the north, part of Italy to the south, and all the lands on the Rhine to the east) to the territories of the Roman republic. But the death of Crassus had removed the balance of power between Pompey and Cæsar, and left a free scope to these chiefs, first, in their views of trampling on the commonwealth, and afterwards in their designs of supplanting each other. The death of Pompey's wife, the daughter of Cæsar, dissolved the last link that had united and moderated two ambitious competitors, of whom the one could bear no equal, and the other no superior. Cæsar passed the river Rubicon, which formed the limit of his own government and divided it from Italy; and Pompey, who had made no preparations to resist the outbreak of hostilities which he had long foreseen, but the immediate danger of which his vanity caused him to underrate, was

forced to flee from Rome and Italy, and to collect his forces on the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea. (50 B. C. E.)

It is not our intention to enter into the civil war between the two great Romans, except inasmuch as it touches on the history of the Jews. When Cæsar took possession of Rome, one of his first acts was to release from prison the dispossessed king of Judea, Aristobulus, who, with his family, had suffered so much from Pompey, and who was burning for an opportunity to revenge his wrongs. The extent of his influence in the East was fully proved by the fears that influence had inspired, and which explained his long detention in prison. Cæsar at once saw how useful Aristobulus might become to his cause against that of Pompey, which was strongest in the East; and, placing him at the head of two legions, he sent him to keep Syria in awe. But the aged king was not permitted long to enjoy this change in his fortunes. The partisans of Pompey contrived to poison him on the way, and thus frustrated Cæsar's design. The body of Aristobulus was embalmed by the friends of Cæsar, and kept in honey till they could convey him to Judea, there to be interred with his ancestors.

His son, Alexander, did not long survive him. Josephus and the other historians who mention his having raised some troops in the expectation of joining his father, do not explain when or by what means this unhappy prince fell into the power of his enemies. But it is certain that Pompey sent orders to his son-in-law, Q. Metellus Scipio, who held the command in Syria, to put the Asmonean prince to death, and that Scipio caused Alexander to be seized, tried at Antioch on a charge of rebellion, convicted, and beheaded. (49 B. C. E.) In these assassinations it is easy to trace the influence, if not the hand, of Antipater, who thus early commenced that system of extermination, to which, begun by him and continued by his sons, the

entire house of the Asmoneans fell victims, until not one of them remained. Ptolemy Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, offered an asylum to the two daughters of Aristobulus, and to his youngest son, Antigonus; and subsequently married one of the two daughters, named, like her mother, Alexandra.

While this was doing in Syria, Cæsar undertook his campaign in Spain, where he converted the veteran and hostile legions of Pompey into friendly auxiliaries. From Spain, where, as he declared, he had to encounter "an army without a general," Cæsar returned to Rome, and thence hastened to Greece to confront Pompey, or, as he called him, "the general without an army." After a partial and indecisive engagement at Dyrrachium, in which Pompey had much the best of the fight, but, by some fatality, forbore to make the most of his advantage, the final great battle of Pharsalia, in Thessaly, witnessed the complete overthrow of Pompey, and conferred on Cæsar the mastery of the civilized world. From the field of battle Pompey fled to the sea-coast, embarked for the isle of Lesbos, where he took on board his wife Cornelia and his younger son Sextus, collected two thousand men in Cyprus and Cicilia, and having heard that the citizens of Antioch, who gave the *tone* to Syria, had declared against him, he determined to proceed to Alexandria, where he expected that, until a more fortunate turn in his affairs, he would find protection with his pupil Ptolemy, the young king of Egypt. Discovering, as he sailed along the coast, that the king was at Pelusium, Pompey cast anchor off that city, and sent some of his officers to intimate his situation and his wishes. The king's counsellors were divided in opinion: if protection should be given to Pompey, they might provoke the resentment of Cæsar; if Pompey, after being rejected by them, should ever re-establish his affairs, they must expect his utmost vengeance. The wisest course with

so formidable a fugitive appeared to be his immediate murder.

The execution of this design was committed to Achillas, the military commander in the district, and to Septimius, a Roman tribune now in the service of Egypt, but who had formerly followed Pompey in his expedition against the pirates. These men put from shore in a small boat, and rowed to Pompey's galley, inviting him to land, saying that they would conduct him to the king. The meanness of the equipage, and the want of ceremony in the address, created suspicion in Pompey's friends, so that they joined with his wife Cornelia and son Sextus in anxiously dissuading him from leaving them. But having gone too far to recede, being in fact almost surrounded by Egyptian galleys, he repeated two lines of Euripides:

> "Who ventures thoughtless on a tyrant's shore
> Resigns all freedom that was his before."

Two of his servants descended to assist him as he stepped into the boat and took his seat. Not a word was uttered until Pompey, looking steadfastly at the tribune, asked whether they had not been formerly acquainted. Sempronius only assented by a nod. Finding him averse to conversation, Pompey kept silent, and began to read an address to the king which he had drafted, when Achillas, seeing him absorbed in his reading, took the opportunity to stab Pompey in the back, and the work of death was instantly completed by the ruffian attendants of the Egyptian.

The king and his troops were drawn up on the coast; Cornelia and Sextus stood on their deck in trembling agony. The catastrophe could be seen from both sides; and the shrieks of the wretched spectators at sea were distinctly heard by those on shore. As if a signal had been given, all the Roman vessels cut their cables and fled, unpursued by the Egyptians. The murderers landed, and cut off Pompey's head, which was embalmed and preserved

as a present for Cæsar; while the corpse of the once most illustrious Roman was cast on the sand, and only saved from becoming the prey of hungry hounds by the affectionate devotion of his faithful freedman, who, though unable to save his life, performed the last sad duties to his headless trunk, assisted by a crippled old soldier who once had served under "Pompey the Great."

As the particulars of this catastrophe became known to the Jews, it struck them with surprise and awe:—surprise, for who more than themselves had witnessed or received proof of Pompey's irresistible power and constant success?—awe, for who but the God of Israel, the Lord of the Universe, could so signally have vindicated the sanctity of his temple, and punished the bold intruder into "the holy of holies?" When the report circulated through the East that the Parthians had poured molten gold down the throat of Crassus, all parties in Jerusalem agreed that this was the finger of God; but when the tidings arrived that Pompey, who had caused Alexander the Asmonean to be beheaded, had himself been assassinated, and his head cut off by the slaves of a boy-king, whose father the great Roman had placed on the throne, all men at Jerusalem exclaimed, "The hand of the Lord hath done this."

Up to the latest moment, Hyrcanus and Antipater had remained faithful to Pompey. A body of Jewish auxiliaries formed part of the army that fought at Pharsalia. Lucan, in his poem of that name, (lib. vii.,) designates these auxiliaries as *Itureans;* but Appian, in his history of the civil wars, (lib. i.,) enumerates the Hebrews along with the Syrians and Phœnicians who joined the army of Pompey. And as Cæsar, the moment victory decidedly declared in his favour, had called to his veterans to spare the Romans and to punish the foreigners, the slaughter chiefly fell on these unfortunate and unwilling auxiliaries, who had been brought into the field by constraint, and not by any love

for Pompey. It is probable that through a fugitive from the battle-field Antipater received the first intimation of the signal defeat of Pompey, before it was generally known; at all events, he learned it sufficiently early to make his abandonment of the falling cause a matter of merit with Cæsar; and it must be confessed that in this change of his party, as generally whenever his interests or those of his family were concerned, Antipater acted with energy and prudence, and was guided by a happy instinct, which never permitted him to be wanting to himself. He was moreover the father of four sons who understood and concurred in his views—Phasael, Herod, Joseph, and Pheroras—all of them brave, ambitious, magnificent, full of spirit and high hopes. He also had a daughter, Salome, who emulated his aspiring genius for intrigue, and who was destined to become the scourge of his own house, even as he became the scourge of the Asmoneans. Events abroad as well as at home greatly favoured his ambitious designs, so that he and his family went on gathering strength from day to day, while the Asmonean family, through the imbecility of Hyrcanus and the reverses of Aristobulus and his sons, sustained a daily loss of power and influence.

March 29 1856

CHAPTER XIV.

Cæsar in Egypt: besieged and in danger: rescued, chiefly by Antipater—Cæsar's gratitude—Antigonus claims Judea as heir to Aristobulus: his claim rejected: Cæsar's decrees in favour of Hyrcanus and the Jews—Fortifications of Jerusalem rebuilt—Antipater *procurator*—His sons: Phasael: Herod, governor of Galilee—His character: accused of tyranny: his trial and flight—Cæsar's last campaigns and death: Brutus and Cassius masters of the East—Mark Antony, Octavius Cæsar, and Lepidus *triumvirs* and masters of the West—Herod in high favour with Cassius, who promises him the kingdom of Judea—Death of Antipater: of Malichus—Herod affianced to Mariamne the Asmonean—Battle of Philippi: death of Brutus and Cassius—Mark Antony master of the East: Herod finds favour with Antony, who appoints him and his brother Phasael *tetrarchs*—Dissatisfaction of the Jews: massacre of their delegates—Antony enthralled by Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt—He returns to Rome and marries Octavia—The Parthians invade Judea: place Antigonus on the throne: seize on the persons of Phasael and Hyrcanus by treachery; Hyrcanus, mutilated, is sent prisoner to Parthia: Phasael put to death—Herod escapes: proceeds to Rome: is appointed King of Judea—Civil war between Antigonus and Herod—The Parthians routed—Herod's party defeated near Jericho; his brother Joseph slain—Herod signally defeats Antigonus: marries Mariamne—Siege and capture of Jerusalem—Number and importance of the sieges of Jerusalem by the Romans, predicted by Moses; (Deut. xxviii. 49, 50, 52;)—Antigonus, the last Asmonean king, scourged and beheaded at Antioch.—(From 48 to 37, B. C. E.)

As, after the battle of Pharsalia, it had been the only care of Pompey to provide for his escape, so the sole object of Cæsar was to pursue and overtake him. He arrived at Alexandria only three days after Pompey had been murdered at Pelusium, and when the news of that event had barely reached the former city. The forces Cæsar brought

with him by sea and land were not considerable; and as he found a large fleet in the harbour and ascertained that there was a numerous garrison in the city, he hesitated to land until a messenger from the king of Egypt brought him the head of his vanquished rival. At the sight he shed tears. He received, however, with complacency, Pompey's ring, impressed with an armed lion, and long respected as the signet of Rome's favourite and most powerful citizen. At Cæsar's landing, his being attended, in his quality of Roman consul, by lictors bearing the *fasces*, gave offence to the Egyptian garrison and to the turbulent citizens of Alexandria, who looked upon this display of rods and axes —the emblems of Rome's power—as an insult to the majesty of young Ptolemy. Their irritation was still further heightened when Cæsar summoned the king to appear before his tribunal and to submit to the decision of the consul his own claims as well as those of his co-heiress and sister Cleopatra, whom Ptolemy and his counsellors had expelled from Egypt. This young queen, in full reliance on her personal charms, and on the generally known amorous disposition of Cæsar, now ventured to return to the harbour of Alexandria, and caused herself, concealed in a bale of merchandise, to be carried into Cæsar's apartment in the royal palace. That conqueror delighted in the wiles of love as in those of war. Her contrivance highly pleased him, and he was subdued, or rather enslaved, by her person and conversation.

The presence of Cleopatra in the palace, and her influence with Cæsar, soon became known; and as the counsellors of Ptolemy, who had driven her out from Egypt, knew her implacable and relentless temper, they arrived at the conclusion that the safety of their own lives required that Cæsar should be disposed of in the same way as Pompey. Accordingly the murderer of Pompey, Achillas, was sent for, to perform the same office on Cæsar, and marched to

Alexandria at the head of twenty thousand mercenaries, the principal military force of the kingdom. He attacked Cæsar in the royal palace, the avenues to which had, however, been skilfully fortified, and were now so manfully defended that the Egyptian was unable in any part to make any impression. Simultaneously with the assault by land, the Egyptian fleet attacked the few Roman, or rather Rhodian, ships that had brought Cæsar into the harbour. But here likewise the superior skill of Cæsar's Rhodian mariners fully compensated for the inferior number of his ships, and gained for him a signal victory. The Egyptian vessels were, by Cæsar's orders, burnt; the fierceness of the conflagration consumed the arsenal, and, spreading widely, destroyed several other magnificent public buildings, among them the Bruchion library, containing four hundred thousand volumes; a calamity which served still further to exasperate the Egyptians, and caused them all the more fiercely to persevere in their efforts to kill Cæsar and the handful of Romans and allies that surrounded him. (Cæsar de Bell. Civil: lib. iii.)

The news of Cæsar's imminent danger at Alexandria, and of his being besieged with a small force by the enraged multitudes of Egypt, soon reached Syria, and greatly alarmed his adherents throughout the East. One of his partisans, Mithridates of Pergamus, a namesake and kinsman, but not a son, of the great king of Pontus, hurried to raise some forces, with which he hastened to Egypt, where he was anxiously expected by the Romans, as, with the exception of a single legion which joined them, his was the only succour at hand. But he proved unable to break through Pelusium, the strong key of Egypt on that side, and was compelled to retreat to Ascalon to collect reinforcements. This was an opportunity too fair to gain the favour of Cæsar for Antipater to neglect it. What he had not done for Pompey, he did now. Not only did he send

an auxiliary body of three thousand Jews, well armed and disciplined, and some other forces that he raised from Armenia and the Lebanon, but he himself, in person, came at their head. He also brought letters from Hyrcanus—either genuine or forged by himself—exhorting the Jews of the territories of Onion, Delta, and Memphis, to assist Cæsar with all their might.

Thus reinforced, Mithridates once more advanced against Pelusium. In the battle which was fought before that city, at a place called the Jewish camp, Mithridates, who commanded the right wing, must have been totally defeated, unless Antipater, who at the head of his Jews had been victorious on the left wing, which he commanded, had hastened to his rescue and gained him a signal victory over the Egyptians. At the storming of Pelusium, which followed, Antipater himself was one of the foremost in scaling the walls. On his advance toward Alexandria, Mithridates had frequent engagements with the Egyptians; but by force or well-concerted stratagem he surmounted every obstacle that the enemy or the nature of the country threw in his way, until he arrived at Canopus, the most western branch of the Nile. Throughout the whole of the expedition he was powerfully supported and aided by the courage and counsels of Antipater, whose abilities and bravery were so strikingly manifested on every occasion, that, in his written report to Cæsar, Mithridates not only felt bound to confess that his successes had been chiefly owing to Antipater, but also to bestow on the Jewish commander such encomiums that Cæsar conceived a more than ordinary esteem for a man of such consummate valor and skill.

After Cæsar's decisive victory over young Ptolemy—who perished either in the fight or in the flight—he rewarded his two auxiliaries munificently. On Mithridates, the representative of the ancient kings of Pontus, he be-

stowed the crown of that country. Antipater, the servant of Hyrcanus, was raised to the dignity of a Roman citizen, with all the privileges thereunto appertaining; and as such appointed him Roman procurator in Judea. Hyrcanus was confirmed in his full powers as prince and high-priest of Judea, to be entailed on his posterity forever. The five local governments established by Gabinius were abolished, and the great Sanhedrin at Jerusalem restored in the fulness of its pre-eminence. Cæsar further ordered the remission, every Sabbatic year, of the annual tribute payable to the Romans; and he conceded that the Jews should not, as formerly, be obliged to provide winter quarters for the Roman troops, or to pay an equivalent in money. Altogether, the privileges and immunities he granted to the Jews in Judea and throughout the empire were such that, for a time, the Roman yoke became very light upon them.

After he had settled the affairs of Egypt by fixing the crown of that country on the brows of his mistress, Cleopatra, and placing with her on the throne her youngest brother, also named Ptolemy, a child barely ten years of age, Cæsar visited Syria. In this country, Antigonus, the youngest son of Aristobulus, who had resided with his brother-in-law, Mennœus, prince of Chalcis, presented himself before the tribunal of the great Roman to solicit that justice might be done to his family and to himself. He urged the merits of his father Aristobulus, and of his brother Alexander, so cruelly put to death by Pompey because of their attachment to the cause of Cæsar. He pleaded the wrongs his family had suffered at the instigation of Hyrcanus and Antipater, so long the devoted tools of Pompey, and he concluded with a petition that these his enemies might be punished, and the principality he inherited from his father—but of which Hyrcanus, by the aid of Pompey, had unjustly robbed him—be restored to him.

Unfortunately for Antigonus, his great adversary Antipater happened to be in attendance on Cæsar at the time the Asmonean prince preferred his complaint and petition. This experienced statesman and orator found no difficulty in maintaining the cause of Hyrcanus, the elder brother, unjustly deprived of his birthright under a pretext of mental impotency that was evidently false, since Hyrcanus had now for nearly twenty years administered the affairs of Judea with ability and success, while Aristobulus had been justly kept in prison as the enemy of Rome, and Alexander had with equal justice been put to death as the wanton disturber of the public peace in Judea and Syria. Of his own share in all these matters, and that it was he and not Hyrcanus who in reality governed Judea, the astute Antipater said little or nothing. But his defence of Hyrcanus was so complete, and his own recent services so important, as to leave no hope for the unfortunate Antigonus. Cæsar heard him coldly; his suit was rejected, and he himself dismissed as a factious and troublesome person who could never be at rest.

But Cæsar went further than barely acquitting Hyrcanus and repulsing Antigonus. A decree was issued—preserved to us by Josephus, (Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 17,) in which "C. Julius Cæsar, emperor and dictator the second time," expresses his high sense of the services rendered to him by Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, a Jew, both in peace and in war; and that, in consideration of these services, he confirms unto Hyrcanus and his heirs forever the government of the Jews as their prince and high-priest, and renews and confirms unto the Jews all the privileges and immunities he had already granted them. This second decree Cæsar caused to be engraved on tablets of brass in Greek and in Latin, and to be hung up in the temples of Tyre, Sidon, and Ascalon, and also in the capitol at Rome. And when Hyrcanus sent an embassy of thanks to Rome,

the ambassadors—as the fourth book of Maccabees (c. xliv.) relates—were received with great marks of honour, Cæsar bestowing on them the signal and much-coveted distinction of making them sit down in his presence. The same book affirms that Cæsar bestowed on the temple of Jerusalem the annual tribute which the maritime province of Syria—from Gaza to Sidon—was held to pay to Rome; and that he restored to Hyrcanus the city of Laodicea and some others which formerly had belonged to the Asmoneans. But though this is doubtful, it is certain that Cæsar reinstated the Jews in the rank of friends and allies of Rome; and that they were proclaimed as such in all the principal cities of the Roman world. He also granted permission that Hyrcanus might restore the fortifications of Jerusalem and of the temple-mount, which had been demolished by Pompey, but which, as soon as the permission was granted, Hyrcanus and Antipater set about rebuilding with great zeal, and so as to render them more strong than ever. (46 B. C. E.)

The success thus attending the policy of Antipater naturally served to increase his personal influence and the power of his house. On Cæsar's return to Rome, Antipater accompanied him as far as Tyre, where the Dictator embarked for the island of Sicily. On the journey back to Jerusalem, Antipater everywhere harangued the Jewish people, and entertained them with glowing descriptions of Hyrcanus' goodness and of the power of Rome, promising that their orderly conduct as faithful subjects would be rewarded by their having a mild government, and enjoying the blessings of peace and freedom; but that in the event of their proving rebellious nothing short of utter ruin awaited them, "for the Romans will be obeyed." With these words he invariably closed every oration, thus giving the people distinctly to understand that his own authority throughout Judea was thenceforth to be considered as su-

preme, since he alone was the much-trusted Procurator and representative of these all-powerful Romans.

The rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, and the restoration of the national Sanhedrin in that city, were the two great events that marked the return of Antipater to Jerusalem. The local aristocracy and courts established by Gabinius having been abolished, Antipater placed adherents of his own as governors in these five districts. To his eldest son, Phasael, he intrusted the command of the metropolis. To his second son, Herod, he confided the important and extensive government of Galilee. In the text of Josephus, such as we now possess it, this second son of Antipater is said to have been only fifteen years old when his father appointed him governor of Galilee. (47 B. C. E.) But a verification of dates proves that this figure is a mistake, arising probably from some blunder made by a copyist. It is certain that Herod reached the age of seventy years; that after he became king (37 B. C. E.) he reigned thirty-four years, and that he died in the year 3 B. C. E. He, therefore, must have been born about the year 73 B. C. E., and consequently, at the time he became governor of Galilee, was twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

His first acts fully proved him gifted with all the energy and daring which are usual at that age, together with an uncommon degree of ability and shrewdness, but, likewise, with a total disregard of the milder feelings of human nature. Indeed, the training of Antipater, while it called forth and gave full play to all the sterner and more grasping faculties of which his children were possessed—ambition, indifference to human suffering or personal danger, and a quick appreciation of the means best adapted for the gaining of immediate objects—left no room for the cultivation of benevolence, modesty, or moderation. By intrigue, by the unscrupulous sacrifice of every higher consideration to the means and end of the moment, and by

the total disregard of truth, of justice, and of humanity, the fabric of Antipater's greatness had been raised; and by the same means it was now to be upheld and augmented.

The district of Galilee, of which Herod had been appointed governor, was, from its geographical position, its extent, its fertility and populousness, next to Jerusalem, the most important portion of Judea, of which it formed the northern boundary and protection against Syria. From the mountain region of Libanon to the north, to that of Carmel to the south, with the upper Jordan and the two lakes of Samachonitis and of Genesareth to the east, and the Mediterranean Sea to the west, Galilee formed a perfect enclosure, extending about fifty miles from north to south, and about thirty miles from east to west. The climate is described as mild and salubrious, the soil as extremely fertile and highly cultivated, and the population as exceedingly dense and numerous. It contained many cities, among which were several with fifteen thousand inhabitants and upwards. As it laid nearest to Syria, it carried on a considerable traffic with that country and with the great commercial cities of Sidon and Tyre, and was, moreover, traversed by the principal caravan road from the east to these two maritime outlets of inland commerce. Hence the wealth of Galilee in coin, merchandise, and movable property generally, was very great.

The approach to the country from the north, through the mountain passes of the Libanon, was exceedingly difficult; so much so, indeed, that the invaders of Judea, whether Syro-Greeks or Romans, preferred skirting the eastern banks of the Jordan, and crossing that river south of the limits of Galilee, rather than taking the nearest and most direct road across the mountains. At the time that Herod assumed the government, however, these mountain-passes—which so long had formed a protection to the wealth of Galilee—were occupied by a population hostile

alike to the family of Herod and to the supremacy of his protectors, the Romans. Josephus designates these mountaineers as "robbers." But the history of revolutions and insurrections in all countries, and at all times, affords us the proof that this odious designation is indiscriminately applied by each party to its opponents, and that the name finally adheres to the weakest, who in this, as in every other respect, "must go to the wall."[3]

These men, whom Josephus designates as "robbers," were in fact political refugees—not so much partisans of Aristobulus as of Jewish national independence—and who, at different times, under Aristobulus, Alexander, and Pitolaus, had fought against Hyrcanus and his allies the Romans. When vanquished, these patriots, as we with justice may style them, fled to the fastnesses of Mount Libanon, where vast caverns afforded shelter to their wives and families; while the men sallied forth and made frequent predatory attacks on such parts of the country, north and south of the great mountain-chain, as were known or suspected to be friends of Rome and Hyrcanus. Doubtless, these patriotic refugees, who had carried nothing out of the conflict, except their families and their own persons, while their lands and chattels had been confiscated to enrich the victorious faction, were not backward in applying the name "robbers" to Antipater, his sons, and his friends generally; and probably they looked upon their own plundering forays as acts of retributive

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[3] A remarkable instance of the importance attached to the branding of political opponents as "robbers," is afforded by the case of *Cremutius Cordus*, an author of some note in Rome, who, at a period not long subsequent to the events narrated in our text, was driven to commit suicide, in order, by his own death, to save his family from the ruinous effects of a prosecution instituted against him, because, in his writings, he had omitted to designate Brutus and Cassius as *latrones*, "robbers." (Tacitus, Annal. lib. vi. § xxiv.)

justice, and by no means criminal. At their head was a bold and enterprising chief, named Hezekiah, who, with energetic impartiality, plundered alike Judeans, Syrians, or Romans, and was equally dreaded north and south of the Libanon.

Cæsar, on his departure from Syria, had appointed his kinsman, Sextus Cæsar, president or governor-general of Syria. Complaints of the mischief done by Hezekiah were frequently laid before the Roman president, who as frequently called upon Hyrcanus for "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." And it is probable that Sextus Cæsar's threat of sending a Roman detachment into Galilee to put down the insurrection, induced Antipater to send the most bold and active of his sons into the disturbed districts, with orders, by every possible exertion, to avert the military occupation of Galilee by the Romans.

Herod was of a temper sufficiently prone to give effect to the commands of his father. Ambitious and ruthless as in reality he was, he possessed a suppleness of mind, and an amiability of carriage, that obtained for him the good opinion of all whose favour he thought it worth while to gain. Affecting the utmost zeal for the welfare of his province, he assembled around him the leading men of Galilee, and, by his apparent affability, rendered himself so generally popular, that when he pointed out the necessity of crushing Hezekiah and his adherents—not only for the protection of the peaceful provincials, but still more for the purpose of keeping the Romans out of the country—every man in Galilee embraced his views, and Hezekiah, whose safety had till then in a great measure been cared for by the good-will the populace entertained for his cause, suddenly found himself deprived of that protection and early intelligence which, till then, the connivance and sympathies of the people had afforded to him.

On the other hand, the unceasing activity of Herod was such—he was so zealously served by his spies, and his measures were so judiciously planned and so ably executed —that, notwithstanding the extreme vigilance of Hezekiah, that wary chief was surprised by Herod, and taken alive, with several of his principal followers. His adherents, panic-struck at the loss of their leader, dispersed, and, for a time, peace and security were restored to Galilee, the inhabitants of which country were delighted with Herod's success, while they admired his military and administrative talents. Sextus Cæsar was likewise much pleased with Herod's services, and sent letters both to Hyrcanus and Antipater, to compliment them on the ability and success of the young governor of Galilee. Stimulated by Herod's example, the eldest son of Antipater, Phasael, governor of Jerusalem, guided by the wise counsels of his father, neglected nothing that could recommend him to the favour of the inhabitants of that metropolis. And thus, by means of his sons, Antipater saw himself and them beloved, not only by the people, but also by the feeble Hyrcanus, whom he and they still appeared to treat with all the respect due to his station as high-priest and reigning prince, at the head of the national affairs.

But at the very time that Antipater and his sons deemed themselves safely at anchor in their prosperity, and upheld in their power by that threefold cord,—the favour of Rome, of Hyrcanus, and of Judea,—a tempest was brewing over their heads that threatened utterly and irretrievably to overwhelm them. Hezekiah and his followers had fallen into the power of Herod alive. The law required that the prisoners should be tried in conformity with its precepts; that they should not be convicted except upon full and sufficient evidence, and that—their guilt proven, and not till then—they should suffer the extreme penalty inflicted

by justice. All these requirements and forms of the law Herod had set aside as tedious and unnecessary. His prisoners were no sooner brought before him than he caused them to be put to death. No investigation was granted, no appeal to the Sanhedrin or to the high-priest was permitted, but, in the fulness of the authority he arrogated to himself, Herod substituted his fiat for the time-honoured precepts of the Law. The Romans and Syrians were pleased, for they had been freed from troublesome neighbours. The Galileans were pleased, for they had got rid of the chief disturber of the public peace. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, mostly Hyrcanists, cared little about the manner in which a champion of Aristobulus and of the hated Sadducees were disposed of. But the leading men throughout Judea became alarmed; the Sanhedrin felt at once indignant and intimidated. They had long taken umbrage at the excessive power wielded by Antipater, who at the same time was the lieutenant of Rome and of Hyrcanus. They had long felt that the only security for the internal peace and welfare of Judea, was the prudence and moderation which taught Antipater to conceal his supremacy, and which had even prompted him to restore the Sanhedrin to the full exercise of its judicial authority.

But the daring of Herod, in putting his prisoners to death without trial or investigation, was an act so unprecedented, and, according to Jewish feelings and habits of thought, so heinous, as to leave no doubt on their minds of his cruel and arrogant nature, or of his willingness to play the tyrant over them, since his very first act as an administrator of public affairs was to violate the law, and to insult the Sanhedrin. They, therefore, in a body, as well as individually, addressed themselves to Hyrcanus, and tried to rouse his fears by showing how completely he himself was reduced to a cypher, whilst all real power was in the hands of Antipater and his sons, from whom

the worst was to be dreaded; and especially from Herod, who set at defiance the law of God as well as all human authority. But Hyrcanus loved Herod. He had by this time become accustomed to the ascendency of Antipater; and all attempts to shake his affection for the son, or his confidence in the father, were fruitless.

At length he was induced to yield to pity what he had refused to justice or prudence. The widows and mothers of the captives, whom Herod had so unceremoniously put to death, arrived in Jerusalem, arrayed in mourning garments, and, placing themselves on Hyrcanus's road to the temple, they attacked him daily with their loud lamentations, and clamorously cried for justice. Whether members of the Sanhedrin had caused these women to come to Jerusalem, or whether they acted of their own accord, cannot be ascertained. But the result of their appeal—for some among them maintained that their sons had been wrongfully done to death, since they were no followers of Hezekiah, though they happened to be with some of his men, their own kinsmen, at the time of the capture, and that a proper investigation would have established the fact, and saved the lives of the innocent—was, that Hyrcanus at length complied with their demand. Herod was summoned to appear and defend his conduct before the Sanhedrin, and a day was appointed for his trial.

In the then state of affairs, this measure was a decisive *coup d'etat.* Its success would insure the fall of Antipater with his sons; but if, on the contrary, the Sanhedrin should succumb, the power of the Idumeans would thenceforth become irresistible. Antipater prepared for the crisis with his accustomed energy and foresight. By his advice Herod obeyed the summons, and came to Jerusalem; but he was attended by a body of armed retainers sufficiently strong to protect his person. And he also took care to secure the direct intervention in his favour of Sex-

tus Cæsar. To him Herod applied, and explained that the crime of which he was accused was, in fact, a meritorious action, called for alike by the people of Syria and of his own government of Galilee; since the ordinary forms of law gave so many chances of escape to the criminal, that, in the event of a public trial, his enemies would doubtless have succeeded in saving the lives of Hezekiah and of his followers. That, therefore, he (Herod) had deemed it his duty to leave nothing to chance, but to make root-and-branch work with these robbers and disturbers of the public peace, against whom Sextus himself had been on the point of taking up arms.

In reply to this application, Sextus Cæsar furnished Herod with a letter to Hyrcanus, in which the high-priest was strictly charged—under the penalty of Rome's severest displeasure, and the threat of instant and grievous chastisement—to watch over the personal security of Herod, and by no means to permit that he should be convicted. This letter, which was handed to Hyrcanus shortly before the trial, had the effect to completely overawe that timid prince, and utterly to quench that fictitious assumption of energy and independence, so foreign to his real character, which, on this occasion, it seems he had displayed.

According to Josephus, (Antiq. lib. xiv. 9,) the president and vice-president of the Sanhedrin at the time were named Pollio and Sameas. Now, in the Rabbinical chain of tradition, which enumerates all the chiefs of the Sanhedrin in regular succession, no such names are to be found. It has therefore been assumed that these Pollio and Sameas are Hillel and Shammai, men highly celebrated in tradition as expounders of the Law, and founders of two eminent schools. But chronology and facts reject this assumption. Since Hillel—who became president of the Sanhedrin in the first years of Herod's reign—had, previous to his election to that high office, not even been a

member of the great national council, and Shammai, the vice-president, was appointed at a later period than Hillel. The two names given by Josephus have therefore, by some historians, been identified with Shemmaiah and Abtallion, the predecessors in office of Hillel and Shammai. There are some circumstances which militate against this opinion; nevertheless it might be reconciled with chronology, and it appears far more likely that the Hebrew or Syriac name, Abtallion, should have been changed into the Greek Pollio, than that such a transformation concealed the name of Hillel.

But whoever presided on the day of Herod's trial, it became a memorable one in the annals of the Sanhedrin. Herod appeared before his judges, arrayed in purple, his bright helmet, reflecting the rays of the sun, on his head, his sword glittering at his side, and a body of armed followers surrounding his person. His whole carriage, so little resembling the humble guise and demeanour of a culprit accused of heavy crime, and standing before judges whose verdict was to decide over life or death, utterly confounded the Sanhedrin. It was something new, to which they were not at all accustomed, and they proved unequal to the great occasion they themselves had so rashly provoked. The letter which Hyrcanus had received from Sextus Cæsar, and which had been communicated to the Sanhedrin, had fully served its purpose of intimidation. And when now Herod presented himself, pride on his haughty brow, and defiance in his fiery eye, he gave them plainly to understand that he came not as a private person, much less as a criminal to be judged by them, but that he stood before them conscious of his power, and prepared to extort his acquittal by terror and the force of arms. Accordingly, the members of the high court were awe-stricken; and those who had been most urgent for the prosecution now remained mute, afraid to enter on the proceedings.

At length Sameas, a member of the Sanhedrin, much respected for his learning, his piety and integrity, rose, and, unable any longer to suppress his indignation, abruptly addressed himself to Hyrcanus and to the court in a strain of honest and powerful remonstrance. "Men of the Sanhedrin," said he, "and thou, O king, has any man ever been seen, who, accused of crime and summoned before this high court to clear himself, has presumed to present himself in the manner Herod does? Charged with manifold murders, and liable to be punished for so grave a crime, he comes here dressed up in purple, his hair carefully curled; he comes into the sanctuary of justice armed and surrounded by a troop of guards. Should we pronounce against him the sentence decreed by the law, he will use force to prevent its being carried out, and his first blows would be struck against ourselves. I do not so much blame him for the means he takes to secure his forfeited life, which he values more highly than the law of God. But what surprises me is to see the high-priest, and you, the judges, thus timidly and tamely permitting this arrogant culprit to have his own way. But take notice of what I am going to say to you. God is a righteous and powerful judge; and this very man, whom now, in cowardly compliance with the wishes of Hyrcanus, you are about to acquit, will prove the ruin of you, judges, and of your king."

With these remarkable words he resumed his seat. The future proved how true had been his prophecy. The immediate effect of his speech was that a majority of the Sanhedrin, recalled to a sense of their duty, prepared to enter on the proceedings; and *that* in a spirit by no means favourable to the accused. But Hyrcanus, who saw and dreaded the turn the affair was taking, suspended the session, and adjourned the court till the next day. During the intervening evening, Hyrcanus gave Herod a

hint to flee for his life, of which the latter was not slow to avail himself. He quitted Jerusalem that same night, and hastened to Damascus, the seat of the Roman pro-consul. Under the powerful protection of Sextus Cæsar, Herod no longer hesitated publicly, and most arrogantly, to set the Sanhedrin at defiance, informing that high court that, in the event of any further citation to appear being issued against him, he would disclaim its jurisdiction. The members were greatly enraged at this uncalled-for insolence; but, as they could not prevail on Hyrcanus to take any measures for vindicating their authority, they were obliged to submit to the affront.

Herod was too haughty, and his mind too active, to rest content in indolent dependence on the protection of the Romans. A large sum of money, furnished by his father, enabled him to purchase from his *friend*, Sextus Cæsar, the government of Cœle-Syria. Having thus obtained a locality in which to exercise his authority, his next care was to raise an army, with which to march against Jerusalem, in order to be revenged on the Sanhedrin for the contumely they had put upon him, and on Hyrcanus for having exposed him to their insults. From that design he was, however, diverted by his father and by his elder brother, Phasael, who reminded him of the great obligations he owed to the high-priest, by whom he had, in all probability, been saved from an ignominious death, and to whom both he and they were indebted for all the power and grandeur they enjoyed. Herod yielded for the present, satisfied with the terror his armament had caused in Jerusalem, and with the foretaste he had thus given to his enemies of a revenge which he consented to defer, but by no means to renounce.

While Herod was thus busy in Judea, events of far higher importance agitated Rome. Cæsar's long stay in Egypt, enthralled by the charms of Cleopatra, had afforded

time to his enemies to rally and gather strength after the stunning overthrow at Pharsalia, and the death of their chief, Pompey. In Asia, Pharnaces, a son of Mithridates, attempted to recover his late father's kingdom, and justified his claims by a decided victory over D. Calvinus, a Roman pro-consul and commander. In Africa, the defeat and death of Cæsar's lieutenant, Curio, enabled Scipio and Cato to seize upon the whole of the Roman possessions, in the name of the senate. And in Europe, the sons of Pompey landed in Spain, where the numerous partisans of their father soon made it easy for them to recover the authority he so long had held in that country. (Appian de Bell. Civil., lib. ii.)

These reverses at length roused Cæsar from his dream of pleasure, and, bursting through the snares of Cleopatra, he once more took the field. The ignominious defeat of Pharnaces entitled Cæsar to pen his famous despatch, *veni, vidi, vici*, "I came, I saw, I conquered." At Thapsus, in Africa, the senatorial army was routed and Scipio slain, while Cato, at Utica, stabbed himself, that he might die free, without exposing his friends to a hopeless conflict. And finally, at Munda, in Spain, the young Pompeyans, after a well-contested battle—and in which Cæsar was more near being routed than in any other he ever had fought—were utterly defeated; and the head of Cneius, the eldest of the two sons, was presented to the victor three years after he had received that of their unfortunate father.

Having thus crushed all his avowed enemies, Cæsar returned to Rome, and celebrated, with unparalleled magnificence, his triumph over the three divisions of the then known world. Among the ambassadors who awaited his arrival to tender their felicitations, those of Hyrcanus, or rather of Antipater, were received and entertained with special favour and distinction. Cæsar granted them the right of sitting down with the senators of Rome, at every

public entertainment, and he decreed that whenever Hyrcanus or his successors should have occasion to present a petition to the Roman senate, the Jewish ambassadors should be introduced to that august body either by the Dictator in person, or by his Master of the Horse, and that they should receive an answer within ten days. Cæsar gave many other proofs of his friendship for the Jews, whom on all occasions he classed among the most highly favoured of the allies of Rome.

Though Cæsar had returned to Rome to enjoy without disguise the unlimited and absolute sovereignty he had acquired, his active mind did not suffer him long to remain at rest. Accordingly, he began to prepare for a campaign against the Parthians. And as there was an oracle or popular superstition in vogue, that the Parthians could only be conquered by a king, it was proposed that Cæsar, who had already been deified or declared a god by the senate, should be proclaimed as king, and bear that title everywhere, except in the city of Rome itself. But this was more than his former equals in the senate could patiently endure. Indeed, the ostentatious display Cæsar made of his power appeared to them more insupportable than its actual weight. A conspiracy was formed against him by more than sixty indignant senators, headed by Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius; and Cæsar perished under their daggers "at the foot of Pompey's statue," in the senate-house, on the Ides (15th) of March, (44 B. C. E.,) while the conspirators rushed forth brandishing their bloody weapons, parading a cap of liberty through the streets, and proclaiming the downfall of tyranny and the victory of freedom.

But Rome, its senate, and its people, were so irretrievably corrupt, that even the potent words of "Liberty and Equality," which, in modern times, have convulsed the world, proved vain and useless. The degenerate descend-

ants of Publicola and Junius Brutus felt that they were alike unworthy and incapable of freedom and self-government; that they needed a master; and that Cæsar, from his pre-eminent talents and clemency of character, was far more deserving of sovereignty, and more certain to exercise his power for the general good, than any who might strive to succeed him. The conspirators, alarmed at the manifestation of public feeling against them, were driven to quit Rome; and it is a remarkable fact that all of them, within three years of his death, perished untimely, either by their own hand or by that of Cæsar's avengers.

The chiefs of the conspiracy, Brutus and Cassius, had been appointed by Cæsar to command in the great provinces of Macedon and Syria. Of these appointments Mark Antony, who, after the death of Cæsar, had been left sole consul, deprived them, and in lieu of provinces granted them commissions for providing Italy with corn. He afterward assigned the province of Crete to Brutus, and of Cyrene to Cassius. But with these inferior appointments they were by no means satisfied; and, availing themselves of the fleets they commanded as purveyors, they crossed the Adriatic sea in order to take possession of the provinces to which they had originally been appointed.

In this they were eminently successful. In consequence of his long and splendid employment in the East, particularly his signal service in repelling the Parthians from Syria, the name of Cassius stood high with the legions in that and the neighbouring provinces. With another class of persons, of no small weight, the fame of Brutus was unrivalled. He was descended from the first and great champion of Roman liberty, and the dignity of the name he bore was sustained by the purity of his life. Though trained by his maternal uncle, Cato, according to the stern maxims of the Stoics, he was esteemed by the people

for his kindness of heart, while the great admired his proficiency in philosophic literature, and all ranks looked upon him as a man eminently qualified to fill a high destiny. The Greek cities, both in Europe and Asia, were frequented by young Romans of distinction, who there prosecuted those studies in which Brutus excelled, and who heard the eloquent professors of that lofty philosophy which Brutus practised. In the ashes of expiring freedom at Athens, a new fire began to kindle; Cæsar was branded as a tyrant, and Brutus and Cassius hailed as the avengers and champions of liberty.

The contagion spread from Greece to Macedon, and from Macedon to Asia. The governors of provinces surrendered their trust and the armies they commanded to Brutus and Cassius; to them the *quæstors* (public treasurers) brought the revenues under their charge, while the cities on the sea-coast afforded their shipping. The veterans of Pompey, so numerous in the countries he had subdued, and especially in Syria, rallied round the standard so long hoped for, and at last raised, to avenge the cause of that long-admired and much-regretted chief. Cassius thus assembled twelve legions in Syria, of which province he was completely master; Brutus, who exercised undisputed authority in Macedon, raised six legions among the warlike countrymen of Alexander the Great; and the cause of liberty thus triumphant in the East, the leaders began to turn their attention to Rome and the West.

There, however, the avengers of Cæsar had been successful. Mark Antony, with whom we are already acquainted, sole consul at the time of Cæsar's death, executor under his last will, and guardian of his young kinsman and heir, at first attempted to seize on sovereign power. Famed for his great military talents, though notorious for his profligacy, beloved by the soldiery, though detested by the senate and the people, he would probably

have succeeded, had it not been for the opposition he so unexpectedly met with from Octavius, the nephew of Cæsar, who had appointed this youth his heir. Though only in his nineteenth year, neither the tears of his mother, nor the remonstrances of his stepfather and friends, could deter him from appearing at Rome to claim the inheritance and name of his murdered kinsman. That inheritance, according to the opinion of Octavius, comprised the power of Cæsar as well as his property; and to seize and secure that power was a design which Octavius prosecuted with an extraordinary mixture of caution and courage, steadily advancing to his end while he dexterously varied the means. "In the first year of his public life he was a zealous patriot. Then during twelve years he acted the part of a cruel triumvir. But during the last forty-four years of his life and reign he deserved to be called the father of the Roman people." (Gillies, viii. 411.)

It is needless to follow the intrigues and turns of fortune which reduced Antony to the state of an outlawed fugitive, and then again placed him at the head of an army sufficiently strong to vindicate his claim to power. Eventually the Roman republic—as it still was officially designated—was divided by "indenture tripartite" between Octavius Cæsar, Mark Antony, and Æmilius Lepidus, who had been Julius Cæsar's master of the horse. They declared themselves triumviri for the space of five years, at the expiration of which period the ordinary adminstration of the commonwealth was to be restored, provided the murderers of Julius Cæsar and their abettors had been brought to condign punishment. The names of three hundred senators and two thousand influential citizens were inscribed on the condemned list; and each of the triumviri sacrificed some person near and dear to him; Antony, his uncle; Lepidus, his brother; and Octavius was base enough to sacrifice the man whom above all others

he professed to love, and whose virtues and talents he never ceased to revere, Marcus Tullius Cicero, the greatest of Roman orators.[4] After having glutted their vengeance and established their power in Rome, the triumviri separated. Lepidus remained at the head of affairs in Italy, while Antony marched against Brutus and Cassius, and was shortly afterward joined by Octavius Cæsar.

We have already seen how readily and seasonably Antipater forsook the falling cause of his patron, Pompey, to worship the victor star of Cæsar. The same manœuvre he once more performed, and almost with equal success. Julius Cæsar had been his benefactor;[5] but he was dead,

[4] The sacrifice of Cicero was made with extreme reluctance by Octavius. But Antony had been so exasperated by the philippics the orator had pronounced against him, and was goaded into such fury by his wife Fulvia, that he remained inexorable. He even rose from the table at which the triumviri were seated, and declared that the death of Cicero was an indispensable condition, and since that had been rejected the conferences must end. (Plutarch, in Anton. conf. Dion, lib. vii. p. 331, et seq.) Cicero might have escaped, but, being then sixty-four years of age and infirm, he preferred death to the privations of flight and the anxieties of concealment. His head and hands were brought to Antony, who caused them to be fixed on the tribune from whence Cicero had denounced him. It is said that Fulvia had indulged her rage against the orator by tossing his head about and tearing his tongue with a bodkin. (Ibid.) In his old age, Octavius, or, as he then was called, Augustus, acknowledged to his grandson that Cicero had been "a virtuous man, a true patriot and friend of his country."

[5] At the meeting of the senate after the death of Cæsar, Mark Antony and Dolabella introduced, among others, ambassadors from Judea, who happened to be in Rome at the time, and were admitted to renew their alliance with them. In consequence of this, when Dolabella compelled several Jews of Asia Minor to enrol themselves in the Roman army, Hyrcanus complained, and reminded the pro-consul that the Jews, on account of their having to observe the Sabbath, had always been exempted from military service under the Romans. The remonstrance was successful; and Dolabella ordered the governor of Ephesus at once to set free the Jewish recruits, and to see that the Jews be not disturbed in the exercise of their religion. (Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 18.)

and his murderer Cassius all-powerful in Asia. Moreover, Sextus Cæsar, the pro-consul of Syria, had shared the fate of his kinsman Julius, and been treacherously assassinated. His death deprived Herod of a powerful protector; but the son and disciple of Antipater was not less ductile or ready to worship the rising sun than his father. As Cassius, in order to equip and maintain his numerous army, needed large sums of money, he was forced to exact immense tributes from the countries under his sway. The sum at which Judea was assessed was not less than seven hundred talents (about seven hundred thousand dollars.) Antipater knew how greatly Cassius was in want of a supply, and how much it was for his own interest to revive his former favour with that great chief by speedily raising the amount the Roman required. He therefore intrusted the collecting of the assessment half to his two sons, Phasael and Herod, and the other half to Malichus, a powerful supporter and favourite of Hyrcanus. Assisted by his father, Herod was the first among all the tributaries and tax-gatherers who presented himself before Cassius, with one hundred talents, the full amount his province had been taxed at. The alacrity and ability with which he raised this sum recommended him strongly to Cassius's esteem.

His brother Phasael did not long remain behind him; but Malichus and those employed under him were in no hurry to plunder their own people in order to glut the ever-craving rapacity of the Romans. Every species of delay was resorted to; and Cassius, impatient and ruthless, soon gave proof of his anger. The inhabitants of those cities in Judea which were most backward in the payment of the tribute levied upon them, were ordered to be sold as slaves at public auction; and Malichus himself would have been put to death, had he not been saved by Hyrcanus, who ransomed his favourite for a sum of one hundred talents, which he took out of his own coffers and sent

to Cassius. Malichus, rescued from destruction by the generosity of his master, strongly suspected Antipater and his two sons as the cause why Cassius's anger had been directed against himself personally; especially as Pitolaus, his former friend and partner in the favour of Hyrcanus, had been put to death by the same Cassius at the instigation of Antipater. Thenceforth Malichus sought the opportunity of slaying Antipater; and in this determination he was joined by several of the leading men of Judea, exasperated against the Idumean family for their zeal in the cause of an assassin, and alarmed by the promise made to Herod by the Roman, who, on confirming him in his government of Cœle-Syria, assured him that as soon as the war against Octavius and Antony, to which he was marching, was ended, Brutus and himself would make Herod king of Judea, as a reward for his zeal and fidelity. (Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. xi.)

While men's minds were agitated by the report of this promise, Antipater died suddenly on his return from dining at Hyrcanus' table in company with Malichus and several other leading men. As this was considered a very suspicious circumstance, it was asserted that Malichus had caused his rival to be poisoned in a glass of wine by Hyrcanus' butler, whom he had bribed for that purpose. In vain Malichus protested his innocence; the sons of Antipater did not believe him; and, what is worse for his reputation with posterity, both Josephus (Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 20) and the author of the fourth book of Maccabees (ch. xlvi.) considered him guilty of the crime. So that it is difficult to conceive on what grounds M. Salvador (*Domination Romaine en Judée*, i. 286) treats the accusation as not proved. Malichus certainly lost no time in making the most of Antipater's death. He introduced an armed force into Jerusalem, and seized upon the government; and it seems probable that his intention was to take

advantage of the civil war of the Romans in order to expel them from Judea.

But the sons of Antipater had not been idle. They had laid their complaint before Cassius, and obtained from him the order to put Malichus to death, which they did by stratagem near Tyre, and under the very eyes of Hyrcanus. A brother of Malichus, who caused some trouble, was soon subdued by Phasael, who, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, even took upon himself to expel their lieutenant, Felix, from Jerusalem. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who had assembled some forces and marched against Judea, supported by his brother-in-law, the prince of Chalcis, by the prince of Tyre, and by the Roman governor of Damascus, was encountered by Herod, defeated, and his army dispersed. The victor acted with his usual policy; the Tyrians who fell into his power were well treated, and generously permitted to return to their home, enriched with presents Herod bestowed upon them. He was shrewd enough to appreciate the importance of a good name; and his conduct on this occasion did not fail to answer the purpose he intended, as the great commercial city of Tyre thenceforth became a valuable friend to his family.

Amidst all these commotions, no man was more helpless or miserable than poor Hyrcanus. Deprived of the guidance of Antipater, whose aspiring abilities had relieved the imbecile prince of the burden of government, and of the society of Malichus, whose friendship he had leaned on for support against the Idumean family, Hyrcanus, left to himself, had been made the tool of each party successively that had predominated in Jerusalem. When the two brothers, Phasael and Herod, gained the upper hand, they upbraided Hyrcanus in the bitterest terms for his baseness and treachery; but though he was altogether in their power, they feared to proceed to extremes against him. On the contrary, they remembered their father's lessons,

and were therefore desirous of a reconciliation with the high-priest, in order, by the sanction of his authority, to legalise their power. As Hyrcanus, from habit, was attached to the sons of Antipater, and especially to Herod, and, moreover, felt the want of a strong arm to lean upon, and a clear head to direct him, he readily entered into the views of the two brothers; and the means for uniting him firmly to their interests, and them to his, were soon found.

Hyrcanus, as we have already stated, had no sons, and only one daughter, named Alexandra. This princess—by virtue of the compact made between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus at the time the elder brother abdicated—was bestowed in marriage on Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus, and became the mother of two children, a daughter and a son, both distinguished for their graces of person and of mind. After Alexander had been executed by the order of Pompey, the widow, with her children, resided in Jerusalem, under the protection of her father, Hyrcanus. Her daughter Mariamne (Miriam) attracted the notice of Herod, so that both policy and inclination united in rendering him anxious to secure her hand. His proposals were favourably received by Hyrcanus, who, aged and decrepit, had but one wish, and that was to secure the dignity of high-priest to his grandson, then a boy in his tenth year, to the exclusion of his nephew, Antigonus, the only surviving son of his late brother, King Aristobulus. This wish Hyrcanus considered certain to be realized, provided the powerful family of Antipater were indissolubly united to his own. He accordingly consented to the betrothal of Herod and Mariamne; and when the former returned from his successful campaign against Antigonus, Hyrcanus went forth to meet and to welcome him with all a father's fondness.

The battle of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius were defeated and driven to commit suicide, left the tri-

umviri masters of the Roman world. After the battle the two victors, Octavius and Antony, divided that world between themselves, and then separated, each of them to seize upon his share. The former returned to Italy; while the latter, to whose military talents the success was chiefly due, was deemed entitled to reap the richest reward of victory. Antony chose for his department the settlement of the Eastern empire, where he could exercise unlimited power without danger, whilst Octavius' undertakings were attended with difficulty and extreme peril.

Antony's proceedings in the East were generally cruel and contumelious. Religion and government, all rules of justice, all feelings of shame or remorse, were equally trodden under foot. At Ephesus, where he was met by deputations from the various nationalities under Roman sway, he mounted his imperial tribunal, and declared, without circumlocution, that his object was chiefly to raise money; and as the eastern provinces had within the space of two years furnished the murderers of their benefactor, Cæsar, with sums equal to the revenues of ten years, he, himself, would be contented with demanding the same amount, provided it be paid in one year. When one of the deputies, more bold than the rest, remarked that it would be impossible to comply with this demand unless the triumvir had the means of creating in one year ten seed-times and ten harvests, Antony so far relented as to reduce the impost to nine years' revenues, and to extend the time of payment to two years. This arrangement was extended to the sacerdotal principalities of Asia Minor and Syria, to the allied kings on the eastern frontier, and to those cities and nationalities which the Romans still mocked with the name of freedom.

Among the first who hurried to meet and welcome Antony, in order to gain his favour by flattery and rich presents, was Herod, who had, indeed, a hereditary claim on

Antony's friendship. For when that pleasure-loving and ever-needy Roman had served in the East, under Gabinius, and had commanded a portion of the Roman forces in Judea, he had received many personal favours from Antipater, whose far-seeing policy neglected no man that hereafter might become useful to him. One of the most surprising facts in the career of Antipater and his sons, is the tact and success with which they contrived to maintain themselves in favour with the successive "powers that be," however much these might differ in their principles.

No men could possibly be more opposed in feelings, in opinions, and in conduct, than Pompey, Cæsar, Cassius, Antony, and Octavius, who had superseded each other in the supreme command of the East. In every case the victor had destroyed his opponent, and proscribed his principles and adherents. Yet with each of them Antipater and his sons had been in high favour; each of the great Romans had helped to forward those ambitious schemes which eventually fixed the crown of the Asmoneans on the brow of Herod. It would be difficult to suppose that such excellent judges of human nature as Cæsar, Cassius, or Octavius, could allow themselves to be deceived by the unprincipled pliancy of Antipater and his sons. But the probability is that however much these great Romans might be opposed in motives and conduct, there was one object in which they all agreed, and that was to preserve the supremacy of Rome, by degrading and dividing the nationalities most strongly antagonistic to her sway. And as they saw that in relation to the Jews no better instruments could be found than the Idumean family, these men, who disagreed on every other subject, agreed in making use of this family as an excellent tool, ready-made, and to be handled accordingly.

Herod's claims on Antony's friendship were acknowledged; the large sum of money he presented was graci-

ously accepted, and the value of the protection secured was soon made manifest. Among the many embassies that waited on the triumvir, was also a deputation of Jews from Jerusalem, who came to present a formal complaint against Herod and his brother Phasael, for that they had usurped the entire administration of affairs, leaving to Hyrcanus the bare name of prince without any authority. But Antony refused even to hear the accusers, so great was his friendship for Herod. At Ephesus the triumvir was waited on by ambassadors from Hyrcanus, who came to solicit freedom for those Jews whom Cassius had caused to be sold as slaves, contrary to the treaty between the Romans and the Jews; and who were actually kept in bondage at Tyre, Sidon, and other cities. The request was at once granted; and Antony not only wrote an obliging letter to Hyrcanus, but shortly afterward also issued a decree, commanding that the Jews thus unlawfully sold should be set at liberty, and their property be restored them. (Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 22.)

In this ready compliance and immediate attention to Hyrcanus's request, Herod's influence with the slothful and negligent Antony was strikingly evident. But so detested were the sons of Antipater, that even the services they rendered to the people failed to reconcile them with the great body of Jews. When Antony reached Antioch—where he took up his residence in the ill-famed groves of Daphne, and where old Hyrcanus, in person, came to present his respects to the ruler of the East—a second deputation, consisting of upward of one hundred of the leading men in Judea, appeared before him, to renew their complaints against the two brothers, Phasael and Herod. This second deputation, more and less fortunate than the first, succeeded in obtaining an audience. After their complaints had been fully heard, Messala, an eloquent Roman, and favourite of Antony, undertook to

plead the cause of the accused. Antony, previous to pronouncing his decision, turned to Hyrcanus, who was present, and, in the hearing of the Jewish deputies, asked the high-priest whom *he* considered as most competent to conduct the affairs of government under himself? Influenced by the recent contract of marriage between his granddaughter and Herod, as well as by his affection for the latter, Hyrcanus named the two brothers. Antony, delighted, also declared for them, conferred on them the rank and power of tetrarchs, or princes over a quarter of a country, and committed the affairs of Judea to their management.

With this decision the Jewish deputies were highly dissatisfied; and some of them giving vent to their rage, Antony caused fifteen of the most turbulent to be imprisoned, and would have put them to death had not Herod interceded for them. The Jews, however, were too obstinate and too much enraged to submit to an arrangement that converted into lawful authority the usurped domination which the sons of Antipater had till then exercised. On Antony's arrival at Tyre, a third Jewish deputation, consisting of not less than one thousand persons, was announced to him. This embassy, however, the triumvir—overwhelmed with presents and bribes by Herod—thought proper to treat as a tumultuous assemby, which he ordered the magistrates of Tyre to disperse by force. And though both Herod and Hyrcanus himself forewarned the deputies of their danger, these obstinate men insisted on appearing before Antony, until Tyrian troops fell upon them and routed them with considerable bloodshed, while many of them were dragged to prison. This fatal result put an end to Jewish deputations craving audience with Antony. But as the great mass of the Jewish people loudly expressed their aversion and resentment against the two brothers, whom they taxed with having caused the slaughter

of their deputies, Antony, enraged, and in order to intimidate the Judeans, caused all his Jewish prisoners to be put to death—a cruelty which only served still further to exasperate the Jews.

At the time these events occurred at Tyre, Antony was on his way to Egypt. When he served in that country under Gabinius, he had been smitten with the precocious charms of Cleopatra, then only twelve years of age, and who now, in her twenty-ninth year, exercised over him a degree of fascination even more powerful than that by which she had so long subdued Julius Cæsar. The history of Mark Antony's thraldom to this charming but most worthless woman is too well known to require more than the slight mention which her connection with this history requires. In her luxurious society at Alexandria Antony wasted his time and neglected his duties, until, both in the West and in the East, the rude summons of public calamity roused him from his dalliance with the queen of Egypt. (40 B. C. E.)

From the West (Rome) Antony was informed that hostilities had broken out between his own adherents, headed by his wife Fulvia and his brother Lucius, and his two colleagues in the triumvirate, Octavius and Lepidus; that Lucius had been forced to surrender, and Fulvia to flee from Italy, while three hundred men of rank and influence had been put to death by the victor Octavius.[6] From the East, tidings reached Antony of a formidable inroad in Syria by the Parthians, headed by Pacorus, the son and heir of their king, supported by Labienus, a Roman general, who had belonged to the party of Pompey, and who rallied around him all the surviving partisans of that leader, as well as those of Brutus and Cassius; and that

[6] By a horrid act of superstition, he caused them to be sacrificed to the manes of Julius Cæsar, on the Ides of March following. (Appian. Plutarch, in Antony.)

the invaders had been invited by the people, who, exasperated and exhausted by unceasing exactions, refused to bear them any longer. (40 B. C. E.)

All this compelled Antony to break through the enchantment that detained him in Alexandria, and to look closely to his own affairs. He directed his attention first to the danger that was nearest, and hastened to Tyre; but on his arrival there he found that the forces he could command were not sufficient to repel the Parthians; while the lamentable letters he received from his wife Fulvia, then at Athens, convinced him that his own personal safety and prosperity could only be secured by his immediate presence in Italy. He, therefore, hastened westward, and for a time left Pacorus supreme in the East. On his road to Italy, Antony met his wife Fulvia, and reprimanded her severely for having embroiled him with his colleagues. This bad woman was capable of any enormity, but her proud heart could not bear reproach. After Antony's departure she sickened and soon died.

On his arrival in Italy, affairs between him and Octavius wore, for a time, a threatening aspect. But the Roman legionaries had discovered the secret of their own importance: they had learned to reason and to calculate. Octavius had the stronger army; Antony was the better general. The result of a contest was doubtful; the benefits of peace were certain, and outbalanced, on either side, the hope of augmenting them by victory. Both armies insisted on a reconciliation between their leaders. The death of Fulvia afforded a favourable opportunity to carry out their desire. By his marriage with Octavia, the beautiful, virtuous, and highly accomplished sister of Octavius, Antony sealed his peace with her brother, and was left sole master of the East, as soon as he should have expelled the Parthians, a task which, during his continued absence, he intrusted to his lieutenant Ventidius.

These invaders having, without much difficulty, made themselves masters of Syria, next directed their attention to Palestine. Through the mediation of Lysanias, prince of Chalcis—who had recently succeeded his father Mennæus—a treaty was concluded between Pacorus and Antigonus, the son of the late king Aristobulus II., by which the former, in consideration of the promise of one thousand talents, (one million of dollars,) undertook to invade Judea, to depose and expel Hyrcanus, and seat Antigonus on the throne of his father. The partisans of Herod—whose interest it obviously was to spread such reports respecting this alliance with the Parthians as should render Antigonus hateful to the Jews, and prevent them from joining him—did not hesitate to assert that Antigonus had bound himself by this treaty to surrender to the Parthians a number of beautiful Jewish women. Josephus (Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 25) speaks of five hundred as the number stipulated; the fourth of Maccabees (ch. xlix.) says "eight hundred women, the fairest and best-bred in all the country." It is doubtful whether any such stipulation was ever made; but it is certain (Jos. supra, et Bell. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 14) that no women were ever surrendered to the Parthians; and it is equally certain that the odious report failed to produce the effect intended, and that numbers of Jews hastened to embrace the cause of Antigonus.

Pacorus furnished his ally with a considerable body of Parthian troops, chiefly horse, commanded by his cupbearer and namesake. In the district of Daroma, or Dryma,[7] an action was fought in which Antigonus and his

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[7] The exact situation of this canton or district is matter of dispute. Some assume it to have been the southern part of Judea, as Darom signifies "the south," and that it extended from Beersheba to the lake Asphaltites. Others are of opinion that this district was the one situated at the foot of Mount Carmel, which the Greeks named Darimos, "The Forest," or "Woodland."

allies gained some advantage and pushed on to Jerusalem. Here the great mass of the populace declared for the son of Aristobulus, while all those whose interests were identified with the existing order of things sustained Hyrcanus and his champions, Herod and Phasael; and as Antigonus had obtained possession of the temple, the two brothers, with the veterans under their command, took post in the royal palace of Baris. The defence of this strongly-fortified castle they divided between them, Herod commanding within the building, while Phasael maintained the approaches. In his first attack, Antigonus was repulsed with great loss, and his followers chased back into the temple precincts. To watch their proceedings, the two brothers stationed a guard of their soldiers in the adjacent houses; but these were set fire to by the mob, and the soldiers perished in the flames before any help could be brought to rescue them.

Several engagements between the partisans of Hyrcanus and those of Antigonus were fought in the streets of Jerusalem, in which the two brothers—particularly Herod—displayed great valour and conduct, inflicting severe loss on their enemies. But these losses were easily repaired by the numbers that daily joined Antigonus; while the Parthians, fearful of venturing with their cavalry into the narrow streets of mountainous Jerusalem, remained encamped outside the city. The feast of Pentecost, which brought an immense number of people to the temple, greatly swelled the ranks of Antigonus, as most of the newcomers declared for him; though, being unarmed, they did not add much to his available strength.

At length, both parties, tired of useless bloodshed, came to an agreement that Pacorus the cup-bearer should be invited into the city to mediate a peace between them. Phasael received the Parthian with great courtesy, and even invited him, with his attendants, to take up his resi-

dence in the royal palace. Here the cup-bearer, taking advantage of the confidence his kind host placed in him, persuaded Phasael to undertake an embassy to Barzaphernes, the governor of Syria under the Parthian king; and he assured the tetrarch that this was the only means of settling all disputes in a firm and satisfactory manner.

Herod, whose dark and crafty disposition rendered him at all times suspicious of treachery, was decidedly averse to the proposal, and sought to dissuade his more confiding brother. But Phasael, deeming it his duty to run some risk in order to stop the effusion of blood, consented to accept the assurance of Pacorus that he would be received and dismissed with safety and honour. He accordingly set out, taking old Hyrcanus with him, and escorted by a Parthian guard of honour, led by Pacorus himself. There is some uncertainty as to the precise city in which Barzaphernes met them,[8] but it is certain that their reception was friendly and courteous. Phasael, however, soon discovered that the Parthians were solely intent on the interests of Antigonus. Friends warned him of treachery, and even offered him the means of escape; but he could not be prevailed upon to desert Hyrcanus, or to forsake the interests of his brother and family, though he was assured that Pacorus the cup-bearer had been sent back to Jerusalem, in order to surprise and capture Herod.

All these tidings did not fail to produce their effect on Phasael; but his bold and firm character did not permit him to have recourse to craft or to entreaty. On the contrary, he went straight on to Barzaphernes, to expostulate with him; and this he did in the severest terms, at the same time telling the Parthian that if the object of his

[8] According to Josephus, (Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. xi.,) Barzaphernes met the Jewish embassy at Ecdipon, a place near the sea-shore, and at a small distance north of Ptolemais. But the fourth of Maccabees (ch. xlix.) states that the meeting took place at Damascus, the capital of Syria.

projected treachery was money, he, Phasael, was able to bribe him higher to remain honest or to embrace Hyrcanus's interest. Barzaphernes deemed it wisest to temporize, and assured the tetrarch that nothing could be more false than such a surmise. He even went so far as to call on the gods to witness his sincerity. When, however, he supposed that sufficient time had elapsed to enable Pacorus to secure Herod, the Parthian governor ordered both Hyrcanus and Phasael to be seized and loaded with chains.

But Herod was on his guard, and before the cup-bearer could reach Jerusalem, the tetrarch quitted that city by night, carrying with him his mother, his young brother Pheroras, and his own bride Mariamne, with her brother Aristobulus, together with their most valuable effects, and attended by his friends, his servants, and those veterans who had so gallantly defended his cause. His intention was to retire to Idumæa, where he expected to find support from his kinsmen and the friends of his father. On his march he met with many impediments,[9] and had frequently to cut his way through detachments of Antigonians and Parthians. In memory of these conflicts, he afterward built a city about seven miles from Jerusalem, on a spot where he had been overtaken by his pursuers, and had inflicted a signal defeat on them. This city he called by his own name, Herodion.

On entering Idumæa, he was joined by his brother Joseph, who had collected all the adherents and retainers of their family to the number of some thousands. At their head Herod reached Massada, a fortress almost impregna-

[9] One of the disasters of the hurried flight was the overturning of the chariot in which Herod's mother travelled, and by which she was so terribly bruised that her life was despaired of. Herod took this accident so to heart, that he drew his sword and attempted to kill himself, but was prevented and disarmed by some of his attendants.

ble, and where he had determined on placing the precious charges under his care. But as this fortress was too small to contain all his men, he was forced to dismiss the greater number of them, only retaining a garrison of 800 chosen veterans. These he stationed at Massada, under the command of his brother Joseph; and having furnished them abundantly with all necessaries, he himself set out for Petra, where his father had deposited large sums of money with his friend the late King Aretas. These sums, and as much more as he could borrow from Malchus, the son and successor of Aretas, Herod intended to offer as a ransom for his brother Phasael; and to obtain this loan, Herod carried with him his only son, then about seven years old, whom he intended to leave with the Arab as a pledge for the due repayment. But before he could reach Petra, King Malchus sent him express orders to quit his territories, pretending that he had been ordered by the Parthians not to receive Herod. The fugitive had to retrace his steps, and started for Egypt. Here, having received the tidings of his brother Phasael's death, he, after many adventures, took shipping and reached Rome.

The flight of Herod from Jerusalem was known the morning after the return of Pacorus the cup-bearer. By way of revenge for their disappointment, the Parthians plundered the city and country, without, however, touching the treasury in the temple; and, having proclaimed Antigonus king, they put into his hands their prisoners, Hyrcanus and Phasael, and withdrew from Judea. The new ruler did not deem it advisable to shed the blood of his aged uncle, Hyrcanus; but, in order legally to disqualify him from ever again holding the office of high-priest, he caused the old man's person to be mutilated by cropping of his ears.

But, though Hyrcanus's life was spared, Phasael had no mercy to expect. All the concentrated rancour the

younger branch of the Asmoneans had so long nourished against Antipater and his family was now to be gratified; all the wrongs so often inflicted, so long endured, were now to be revenged. The assassination of King Aristobulus II., the murder of Prince Alexander, were now to be atoned for by the painful and ignominious death of Phasael. That unfortunate prisoner, however, determined, by a voluntary death, to disappoint his treacherous captors, but as the heavy chains that fettered his person did not permit him the use of his hands, he dashed his brains out against his prison walls. His suicide recalled to the inhabitants of Jerusalem how greatly he had at one time been their friend; and as Antigonus became alarmed at this exhibition of public feeling, he consigned his surviving captive, Hyrcanus, for safe-keeping, to his allies, the Parthians, who sent the mutilated high-priest to Seleucia on the Tigris.

Such is the narrative of these dark doings given by Josephus, confirmed by the fourth book of Maccabees, and which brands the name of Antigonus with cruelty and treachery. M. Salvador (*Domination Romaine en Judée*, vol. i. p. 293) endeavours to shift the guilt on the shoulders of Herod, who had advised Phasael to put his guests, the Parthian cup-bearer and his principal officers, to death, and then to fall suddenly upon their troops, confounded and rendered incapable of resistance by the loss of their commanders, (Joseph. Bell. Judaic, lib. i. cap. xiii.;) and also upon the shoulders of Phasael, who, during his visit to Barzaphernes, had sought to supplant Antigonus in the good graces of the Parthians. It appears, however, that M. Salvador allows himself to be biassed by his dislike of Herod, whose advice, though given, was never carried out by the more loyal Phasael. Nor did any attempt on the part of this last-named personage to outbid Antigonus justify the treachery to which he and Hyrcanus became

victims. Herod is no favourite of ours. We know him to have been capable of every enormity, and ready to commit any profitable wrong, either by craft or by the strong hand. But Antigonus' honesty ranks but one remove above Herod's in our estimation, and the Parthians were proverbial for their treacheries.

On his arrival in Rome, Herod presented himself before his patron Antony, by whom he was warmly welcomed, and who introduced him to Octavius as the son of a man who had been the valued friend of Julius Cæsar, the adopted father of Octavius; and as the representative of a family at all times and altogether devoted to Rome. The object of Herod's journey to Rome was to induce the triumviri to place on the throne of Judea the brother of his betrothed Mariamne. As this young prince, Aristobulus, was the grandson both of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus II., he united in his own person the claim of the elder as well as of the younger branch of the Asmoneans, and as his tender years did not permit him to rule in person, Herod proposed to govern the country under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; but Antony suggested another idea. He was enraged against Antigonus for having allied himself with the Parthians, and against the Jews for having joined Antigonus. Antony also knew how utterly the Judeans detested Herod, and how strongly they were attached to the Asmoneans. It therefore struck him that the severest punishment he could inflict on the Jews was to place over them as their king the man whom of all others they most hated.

While Antony was thus influenced by malice, his cooler and more calculating colleague, Octavius, was struck by the advantage, in the approaching conflict against the Parthians, of placing at the head of affairs in Judea a man altogether dependent on and devoted to Rome. Antony, who saw how eagerly Herod embraced the startling pro-

posal, undertook, on the promise of a sum of money, to secure to his *protegé* the crown of Judea. At that time all things were bought and sold at Rome; and Antony, acting as broker, by the assistance of Octavius, easily obtained from the senate Herod's appointment as king of the Jews. As soon as the decree was passed, Herod, walking between Antony and Octavius, was, with great ceremony, conducted to the Capitol, accompanied by the consuls and senators. Here the usual sacrifices were brought, the decree was deposited in the archives, and the proceedings of the day terminated by a magnificent entertainment given by Antony. Determined to lose no time, Herod departed from Rome seven days after his inauguration, and so great had been his expedition, that the entire time of his visit to Rome and return to Judea, did not exceed three months.

Herod landed at Ptolemais towards the end of the summer, furnished with letters to the Roman commanders in Syria, directing them to afford him every aid. During his absence, Antigonus had closely invested Massada, and pressed the siege with the utmost ardour. His object was to obtain possession of the persons of Mariamne and her brother Aristobulus, in order that he might espouse the former, and, mutilating her brother as he had already mutilated her grandfather, unite in his own person the claims of both lines of the Asmoneans, whose sole heir, qualified for the high-priesthood, he then would become. Joseph, the brother of Herod, defended the fortress with great valour and skill, and, as the garrison was abundantly supplied with every thing necessary, Antigonus could make no progress. But as the summer advanced, the besieged began to suffer from the want of water, and their distress became so insupportable, that Joseph determined to make a desperate sally in order to cut his way through the besiegers. Fortunately for him, however, on the very night he

intended to sally forth, there happened a fall of rain so heavy as to fill all the cisterns within the fortress, so that, relieved of all their suffering, he and his veterans were enabled to make good their defence.

Herod's first care after his return to Judea, was to raise the siege of Massada, and to protect his beloved Mariamne against the possibility of falling into the power of his rival. The troops he had disbanded a few months before soon again rallied round his standard, and his fame for valour and generosity drew many adventurers into his ranks. He also called upon the Romans for assistance, which, however, they took care not effectually to afford him, though they dared not absolutely refuse; for the Roman generals in Syria knew that when Herod bought his crown at Rome, he had no competitor in the market; whereas, in the East, Antigonus was quite as ready to pay for not being molested, as Herod would be obliged to do for being assisted. Accordingly, these allies, although they did not venture openly to espouse the cause of Antigonus, yet contrived clandestinely to sell him their aid, by thwarting and impeding the progress of Herod.

This double-dealing on the part of the Romans was carried on by them during three years, to the great injury of the country. Herod was detested by the great mass of the people; but Antigonus was by no means beloved by the masses, for he was a Sadducee; and poor old Hyrcanus had many friends, who, though they disliked and would not help Herod, fought against Antigonus to avenge the old man's wrongs and to punish his nephew. The Judeans were thus split up into factions and partizan bands, who preyed upon each other, while the Romans, with impartial but insatiable rapacity, equally plundered all parties. Many battles were fought with alternate success, but unmitigated cruelty, and from the time of this civil contest we begin to trace among the Jews a ferocity of spirit, and a rancorous ani-

mosity against political opponents, that ripened into a fearful system in the secret order of the zealots, and reached its climax in the destruction of Jerusalem.

The Parthians, who had placed Antigonus on the throne, had met with such reverses that they could afford him no support. Ventidius, the lieutenant of Marc Antony, had defeated and driven them out of Syria; and in a renewed attempt on that country, the Parthians were not only totally routed, but their brave prince Pacorus was slain. After his first victory, Ventidius approached Jerusalem under the pretence of compelling Antigonus to raise the siege of Massada. But on the payment of a round sum of money, the Roman marched off; his subordinate Silo, who remained in Judea, was too weak to interfere with the designs of Antigonus. And it was not till Herod himself, at the head of the troops he had raised since his return from Italy, confronted Antigonus, that the latter raised the siege of that impregnable fortress, which, during so many months, he had closely invested.

The frequent mutinies of Herod's Roman auxiliaries, excited by connivance between their commanders and Antigonus, compelled Herod to place them in winter quarters in the most fertile districts of Judea. Early in the spring he took the field, and directed his exertions principally against the bands that were in arms against him in Galilee, whom, as usual, he designated "robbers," and pursued with fire and sword. The few that escaped were driven across the Jordan. But no sooner had Herod quitted that part of the country, than the "robbers" returned to their old haunts, and inflicted cruel retaliation on the people that had recognised Herod.

On the arrival of Antony in the East, Herod hastened to pay him a visit, was well received, and obtained peremptory orders to Machæras, who had succeeded Silo in the command of the Roman auxiliaries, to exert himself effec-

tually so as to put an end to the war. But on his return to Judea, Herod found his affairs strangely altered for the worse. His brother Joseph had ventured on an incursion against Jericho, at the head of his own troops, and of five legions of Roman auxiliaries entrusted to him by Machæras. He was surprised by the troops of Antigonus, and as the rocky ground was ill adapted for the Romans, chiefly horse, the Herodians were defeated with great loss, and Joseph himself slain in a hand-to-hand encounter by Pappus—who commanded for Antigonus—and his head cut off and carried in triumph before the conqueror. Pheroras, the youngest son of Antipater, soon after redeemed the mutilated remains of his unfortunate brother, for fifty talents, (about fifty thousand dollars.)

One consequence of this defeat was a fearful insurrection in Galilee, where the most wealthy and distinguished of Herod's adherents were flung into Lake Tiberias. Idumea, the strong-hold of Herod's party, was also on the point of revolt, which, however, his unexpected return at the head of a fresh army soon suppressed. Eager to revenge the death of his brother, Herod, reinforced by Machæras, attacked, and after an obstinate conflict, defeated Antigonus. The vanquished were slaughtered with unrelenting cruelty, and Pappus being found among the slain, Herod caused his head to be cut off and sent it to Pheroras. This decisive victory made Herod master of all Judea, except Jerusalem, which, for a time, was saved by the inclemency of the winter, that compelled Herod to put his army into cantonments, whilst he made every preparation for a vigorous siege in the spring.

During the winter he repaired to Samaria, where his bride Mariamne, and her brother, Aristobulus, had been residing since the raising of the siege of Massada. The precarious condition of his affairs had hitherto prevented Herod from consummating his marriage with this princess.

But, after a delay of four years, and seeing himself master of Judea, and on the point of becoming so of Jerusalem, he at length claimed and carried home his betrothed in the full expectation that his love for her would be rewarded by the success of his policy, and that during the impending siege, many would support the husband of Mariamne, the heiress of the Asmoneans, who would have warred to the knife against Herod.

In the spring of the year 37 B. C. E., Herod marched against Jerusalem at the head of thirty thousand men. He was joined by Sosius, the lieutenant of Marc Antony, who led to his assistance eleven Roman legions and six thousand horse. Josephus tells us that at this period the Roman legions did not each contain the same number of fighting men, but varied from four thousand to six thousand. But at the lowest estimate, the army that now invested Jerusalem, must have greatly exceeded sixty thousand men.

Within the city parties were, as usual, divided, though, at the beginning of the siege, the fear of Antigonus prevented any public opposition on the part of the citizens. Deprived of all help from the Parthians, Antigonus, after his last great defeat, had contemplated flight; but the entreaties of his partizans, and their increasing numbers, as from all parts of Judea they were driven to rally in Jerusalem, induced him to alter his determination, and to prepare, during the whole of the winter, for a vigorous defence.

Unfortunately for himself, Antigonus was a Sadducee; and while his valor and abilities were not such as to command the respect or to secure the confidence of the entire people, his religious principles alienated the vast majority from his person, and rendered many indifferent to his cause. Like his grandfather, Jannai, he had filled the Sanhedrin with his own creatures; and as the Pharisees withdrew from the supreme tribunal, and the majority of the people had no confidence in the Sadducee assessors,

the inhabitants of Jerusalem were compelled, on every question of importance, to consult the *Bne Bethera.*[10] Between Antigonus himself and the chiefs of the Sanhedrin—Pollio and Sameas, as Josephus styles them, but who, as we have already stated, we believe to have been Shemmaiah and Abtallion of tradition—there existed a private jealousy, that embittered, by personal ill-will, the feelings of public and party difference[11] already sufficiently strong in themselves. And there can be no doubt, that if

[10] Much difference of opinion prevails respecting these *Bne Bethera.* Some assert that there were three sons of Bethera, learned in the law, and in whom the people had great confidence, who were consulted on all questions of importance until the first years of Herod's reign, when the appointment of Hillel, as president of the Sanhedrin, restored to that tribunal the confidence of the people. Others will have it, that the Bne Bethera were the ordinary judges or elders of the city of Bether, not far from Jerusalem, whose decisions the people preferred to those of the Sadducee Sanhedrin in Jerusalem. The last view is that adopted by most modern Talmudic critics, especially as the question which caused Hillel to be elected president, was one of observance, respecting which the Bne Bethera could not avail themselves of their local experience or practice.

[11] The Talmud (tr. Yomah, fo. 63 B.) preserves a curious anecdote, which goes far to prove the state of feeling of which we speak. "Once, on the day of atonement, it happened that the high-priest, returning from the temple after having completed the service of the day, was attended by a vast concourse of people, who, as usual, congratulated him. When, however, Shemmaiah and Abtallion approached, the crowds forsook the high-priest, to attend on, and hastened to congratulate, the chiefs of the Sanhedrin. When the two chiefs came sufficiently near to the high-priest to offer him the compliments of the season, that dignitary, enraged at the greater attention the people had shown to the chief senators, saluted them with the words, "Let the descendants of the Gentiles go in peace," an inuendo the more offensive, as Shemmaiah and Abtallion were considered as descendants of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, whose son had embraced Judaism. The two chiefs of the Sanhedrin, nothing daunted, replied, "Let those descendants of Gentiles go in peace who do the works of Aaron, but let not those descendants of Aaron go in peace who do not according to his works." The high-priest who met with this retort, was Antigonus, the Sadducee.

Herod had been less detested, even by the friends of Hyrcanus, his victory would have been less dearly bought: or that if Antigonus had not been a Sadducee, the defence of Jerusalem would have been successful.

Even under all disadvantages, this second great siege of Jerusalem by the Romans was far more difficult than the first, under Pompey. It lasted double the time, and every inch of ground the besiegers advanced, they had to pay for with their blood. Instructed by previous and fatal experience, the besieged maintained their defence on the Sabbath as well as on any other day, for the Sadducees had at length seen, that the Pharisees were right in placing self-preservation and the protection of human life in the foremost rank of religious duties. At length, however, after six months of toil and combat, the numerous breaches which the siege-artillery of the Romans had opened in the walls of Jerusalem became practicable. It is said that a considerable party in the city espoused the cause of Herod, and that Pollio and Sameas exhorted the citizens to open the gates to admit him. Jerusalem was taken by storm on the self-same day that Pompey had taken the temple, and twenty-six years after the first capture of the city by the Romans.

Salvador (*Domination Romaine* i. 299) calls attention to the fact, that each of the five principal epochs in the Roman domination over Judea, is opened or terminated by a remarkable and characteristic siege. "Thus the first intervention of Rome in the affairs of Judea was inaugurated by the storming of the temple under Pompey. The change of dynasty was accomplished by means of the siege and storming of Jerusalem under Sosius. The government of Romish procurators in Judea ceased in consequence of the unsuccessful siege of Jerusalem by Cestius Gallus, who was repulsed from before its walls. The war of independence terminated with the siege of Jerusalem

and the destruction of the temple by Titus. And the last efforts of Judea as a body-politic, the least known though probably the most glorious period of its long struggle against Rome, were crushed by the siege and capture of Bether, under Hadrian."

The French historian might have added, that this fact of the repeated great sieges, so remarkable in itself, becomes doubly so when we connect with it the prophecy of Moses: "The Lord will bring up against thee a nation from afar, from the extremity of the earth, as the eagle rusheth down; a nation whose tongue thou wilt not understand; a nation of fierce carriage, that will not have respect for the old, nor show mercy to the young. And it will BESIEGE thee in all thy gates until the high and strong walls come down wherein thou trustest throughout all thy land." (Deut. xxviii. 49, 50, 52.) These are predictions so clear and positive in their terms, so certain not to have been made *post facto*, and so strictly and literally fulfilled, that the veriest infidel can find nothing to allege against their truth.

And that Moses did not exaggerate the fierce and merciless carriage of this "nation," the Romans, was fully proved by the indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants of Jerusalem as soon as the legions of Sosius entered the doomed city. "The Romans, having dispersed themselves through all the quarters of the upper city, made a terrible slaughter of the Jews, and plundered and ravaged every place they came near, to be revenged, as they said, for the length and fatigue of the siege. The very sanctuary was in danger of undergoing the same fate, had not Herod prevented it, partly by fair, partly by threatening, words, and even by mere force. He sent at the same time a severe message to Sosius, complaining, that if this plunder and butchery was not stopped, the Romans would have him king only of a barren wilderness; and that as for himself,

he should look upon his success as the most unhappy thing that could befall him if it must be attended by a profanation of that sacred place, the access to which was permitted to none but the Jewish priests. To all this Sosius answered, that he did not well know how to forbid his troops the plundering of a place that had been taken by assault, so that Herod saw himself under a necessity of saving both temple and city from all further devastation by a large donation out of his own coffers." (Universal History, vol. x. pp. 405–6.)

When all was lost, and every possibility of successful resistance had ceased, Antigonus descended from the high tower on which he had taken his station to have a view of and to direct the defence, and surrendered to Sosius. The partisans of Herod, who alone were the witnesses that survived the assault, and whose interest it was to blacken the character of the unfortunate Asmonean, relate, that when he came into the presence of the Roman commander, Antigonus, in the most abject manner, threw himself at the feet of the conqueror, begging his life with many tears and protestations; and that altogether his conduct was so unmanly and unbecoming, that Sosius, in derision, called him Antigona, as though he had been a woman. M. Salvador (*Domination Romaine* i. 300) defends the last of the Asmoneans against this charge of cowardice, and remarks, that if it were true that Antigonus wept, his previous life, the battles he fought, the dangers he braved, his unconquered perseverance to the last instant, prove, that at the solemn moment which deprived him of his crown and his liberty, he was moved not merely by the danger which threatened his own life, but that he wept over the sacred cause of Israel and its nationality, so gloriously upheld by his ancestors, but now stricken down by idolaters. He wept over the fall of that noble race of Maccabees, which, in his own person, was irretrievably ruined by the audacity

and intrigues of their own servants—of men whom he himself had long before contemptuously, but justly, designated as "Idumean barbarians."

Antigonus was carried to Antioch, where Mark Antony at that time had taken up his residence; and the triumvir at first intended to carry his captive to Rome, to adorn his projected triumph. But Herod was seized with one of those fits of terror which embittered his future life, and even drove him on to destroy his own children. He dreaded lest Antigonus, captive at Rome, might escape and return to Judea, as his father, Aristobulus, had done before him. Herod dreaded still more, that when in Rome, Antigonus might plead his cause before the senate, and by that means excite an interest in favour of the legitimate prince of Judea, or at least of his children deprived of their birthright by an alien usurper. "And so, at the price of a large sum of money, Herod obtained from Antony that Antigonus be put to death." (Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 16.)

The manner in which the unfortunate prince was executed was so shameful, that many ancient writers, as Plutarch, (M. Anton,) Dion, (lib. xix.) and Strabo, (apud Jos. Antiq. xv. cap. i.) condemn it as a piece of injustice and cruelty, never till then allowed of by the Romans towards a captive king. He was tried and condemned as a private criminal; and though he had been promised that his life should be spared, he was first tied to a stake and whipped, and then his head was cut off, (37 B. C. E.) Thus ignominiously perished the last prince-high-priest of that illustrious race, one hundred and twenty-nine years after his great ancestor, Judah the Maccabee, had taken upon himself the government of Judea.

In the indignities which Antigonus was made to suffer, Antony remained true to his worthless character; for that unfeeling debauchee who had tossed about the head of Cicero, was not likely to pay much respect to a vanquished

"eastern prince." He listened to the base calculating cruelty of Herod, who expected that the disgraceful death of Antigonus—casting a stigma on the Jews whose king he had been—might render his memory odious to them. But the tyrant forgot, that whenever the Jews thought with indignation of the high-priest who survived his defeat only to be whipped and beheaded like a vile malefactor, they would also think with disgust and detestation on the Idumean usurper, whose malice and intrigues had brought that disgrace on the last of the Asmoneans.

Strabo (in loc: cit.) tells us that "as the Jews obstinately refused to recognise Herod for their sovereign, so that the worst of tortures could not force them to style him their king, while all their affection and allegiance were bound up in Antigonus, Mark Antony was persuaded to think that the ignominy of a public execution, and thus making him contemptible, were the only means of destroying the high respect in which the captive was still held by his people, and that, in time, the detestation in which Herod was held would pass away." That the first part of this speculation was not altogether unfounded, is proved by Josephus, who himself claimed kindred with the Asmoneans, but who closes his account of Antigonus with the remark, "Such was the just punishment which the COWARDICE of Antigonus deserved and brought upon him."

March 29 1856

CHAPTER XV.

Herod I. King of Judea—Opens his reign with cruel proscriptions—Hillel and Shammai; their schools—High-priests removable at the king's pleasure—Aristobulus III.; intrigues of his mother, Alexandra; he is put to death—Herod accused before Antony; buys his acquittal—Family feuds; Salome; Mariamne—Hyrcanus invited back to Jerusalem—Cleopatra visits Herod; her danger; her rapacity—War between Herod and the Arabs; he is betrayed by Cleopatra, and defeated—Earthquake, attended with immense loss of life and property, in Judea—War between Antony and Octavius; battle of Actium, and defeat of Antony—Herod causes old Hyrcanus to be put to death, and then makes his peace with the victor—Octavius, assisted by Herod, invades Egypt—Death of Antony and Cleopatra—Mariamne, the avenger of the Asmoneans, put to death by Herod; his remorse—His internal administration: curries favour with the Romans: detested by his own people—Conspiracy to murder him; detected and barbarously punished—Great famine: public distress relieved by Herod—He sends his two sons to be educated at Rome; his high favour with Augustus—Herod rebuilds the temple—Family dissensions; Herod's wives; his eldest son Antipater: Herod accuses his two sons by Mariamne, before Augustus, who causes a reconciliation—Herod's schemes to obtain the crown of Syria; he loses, for a time, the favour of Augustus—Renewed bitter quarrels in Herod's family; he puts his two sons by Mariamne to death—His brother, Pheroras, and his son, Antipater, conspire against him; death of Pheroras; conspiracy detected—Herod's last illness—Disturbances in Jerusalem; suppressed and cruelly punished—Antipater put to death—Herod's last atrocious commands; his death: his last will, in part, confirmed by Augustus—Division of Herod's territories—Archelaus ethnarch of Judea—Popular discontent—The pseudo-Alexander detected by Augustus—Archelaus, accused, deposed, and banished—Judea declared a Roman province. From 37 B. C. E., to 6, C. E.

THE end and aim of Antipater's schemes and Herod's intrigues had thus been attained; the last Asmonean, the

champion of Jewish nationality, had perished miserably on the scaffold; the first Herodian, the slave and representative of foreign domination, had ascended the throne. That Herod was a man of courage and ability, must be admitted; that he possessed many of the qualities[12] required for an eminent ruler, and which might have rendered him the benefactor of Judea, cannot be denied. But unfortunately for himself and for his people, his *antecedents*, as the French call them, the means by which he had acquired and was obliged to secure his crown, had raised between him and the Jews a gulf which all his ability was not able to span or bridge over, and on the opposite sides of which their hatred and his suspicions kept jealous watch, and not only prevented the possibility of any approximation, but also crushed every development of popular life.

Throughout the many years that Herod reigned, Judea and the Jews have no history. The biography of Herod, the conflicts in his household, the intrigues of his sister, the success of his public, the misery of his private life, fill the canvass so entirely as to leave no room for the people, except, indeed, for the record of his tyranny and of their sufferings. Two great principles guided Herod in his administration of public affairs—constant and unlimited servility

[12] "At the time he ascended the throne, Herod was in the thirty-seventh year of his age. His person was tall and commanding, his features regular and pleasing, his carriage graceful, and evincing great self-confidence. His mind was extremely insinuating and pliant towards those whose favour he wished to gain, though haughty and overbearing towards all others. His body was strong and vigorous, inured to hardships and capable of undergoing every fatigue to be encountered either in war or hunting, of which pastime he was excessively fond. An excellent rider, archer, and swordsman, and brave in battle; he joined valour with skill, and enterprise with prudence. At the same time his long experience in the affairs of civil government, and the instruction of his father, qualified him better than any other man to secure the welfare of the Judeans." (Josephus, Bell judaic, lib. 1, cap. xxi.)

toward Rome, absolute and unlimited power over Judea. The first required the possession of large sums of money: the second rendered necessary the removal of every person whose past conduct, or present position, rendered him obnoxious in any way to Herod. And the pupil of Antipater, the protegé of the triumviri, belonged to a school that never hesitated, nor ever allowed the right to interfere with, or prevail over the expedient.

Herod's very first acts, after Sosius installed him in the royal palace of the Asmoneans, proved that the fearful slaughter in which the Romans had indulged at the storming of Jerusalem, had by no means quenched the new king's thirst for blood. Most of the members of the Sanhedrin —chiefly Sadducees, and all of them (with the exception of two) ardent adherents of Antigonus, or of the cause of national independence—had contrived to evade the sword of the Roman. But Herod was determined they should not escape; for not only had they been the friends or partisans of his enemy, but, moreover, they were rich, and their confiscated wealth would replenish his exhausted coffers. Accordingly, they, together with every member or friend of the Asmonean family, were *proscribed* according to the approved method of Rome; and the experience acquired on the larger sphere of action by the triumviri enabled Herod to frustrate every attempt to evade his cruelty or his rapacity.

In his history of the civil wars of Rome, Appian, the historian, has devoted several pages to relating the adventures of many of the proscribed, who were enabled through the love of their wives and relatives, the assistance of their friends, or the devoted affection of their freedmen and slaves, to preserve their lives, or to secure a portion of their property from confiscation. Several other pages relate instances of the most flagrant treachery, the most heinous ingratitude, to which many of the proscribed became vic-

tims. But in Judea, the vigilance of Herod paralyzed every effort of devoted love, and superseded any attempt at treachery. Each coffin that passed through the gates of Jerusalem was stopped and searched, lest its inmate might prove a living man. Each wagon that quitted the city had to be unloaded, lest it carried off some portion of that wealth which Herod claimed as his own; and so successful was he in his *espionage* and detective police, that not one of the proscribed escaped, while the whole of their wealth fell into his hands, and enabled him to pay the heavy debt he had contracted with Marc Antony when Herod bought the crown of Judea.

Two more crowns remained to be disposed of—that of the priesthood and that of the law. Herod's lineage did not permit him to usurp the first crown, or to aspire to succeed Antigonus as high-priest. He therefore determined to render that office politically insignificant; and as most of the distinguished *Cohanim* (priests,) resident in or near Jerusalem, had been put to death as adherents of Antigonus, Herod sent to Babylon for an obscure individual, of the lineage of Aaron, whom he appointed high-priest. This man, named Ananel, was a descendent of the ancient high-priests, who had held office in the first temple, and before the Babylonish captivity; but this was the only advantage he possessed, as he was by no means gifted with learning or wealth, and was entirely without influence or connection in Judea.

Another native of Babylon was permitted to assume the crown of the law which had been bestowed on him by popular election. Herod professed to be a Pharisee and an adherent of tradition. His slaughter of the Sanhedrin he attempted to defend, on the ground, that those he put to death had been Sadducees, false teachers. He appealed to the fact, that he had spared Pollio and Sameas; though Pollio was president or chief of the Sanhedrin, and Sameas

was the senator, who, on the occasion of Herod's trial, had attacked him most openly and vigorously. "But," said Herod, "these two distinguished men were Pharisees; they were honest; during the last siege they counselled the people to open the gates and to receive me. They are godly and pious men, and therefore I did not molest them."

It appears, however, that if, as we assume, Pollio be the Abtallion of tradition, he must have been very old, and resigned his functions in the senate. For when, in the first years of Herod's reign, (36–30 B. C. E.,) an important question arose respecting the offering of the paschal sacrifice on the Sabbath, which the Bne Bethera could not solve, there was no one in Jerusalem of authority sufficient to take upon himself the decision, until Hillel, a favourite disciple of Shemmaiah and Abtallion, was brought forward, and on the authority of their instructions, decided, and was obeyed by priests and people—(*Talmud tr. Pesahhim fo.* 46.)

This Hillel, who, as we have already stated, was a native of Babylon, is a remarkable instance of successful perseverance and acquisition of knowledge under difficulties. The Talmud (*tr. Yomah fo.* 35 *B.*) relates, that when Hillel first came to Jerusalem from Babylon, he was so poor that he worked as a day-labourer. His small earnings he expended, partly for food to sustain nature, and partly as a fee to the door-keeper at the hall or school where Shemmaiah and Abtallion instructed their disciples. Once, on a cold winter's day, Hillel had been able to find no work, and as he could not give the door-keeper the usual fee, the fellow would not permit him to enter the hall. But, so eager was Hillel to hear the two great teachers, that he placed himself near the window and stood attentively listening, without deigning to notice that a heavy fall of snow had commenced. At length his limbs, numbed with

cold, failed him, and he fell insensible, close to the window, where his body was soon covered by the fast falling snow. As the heap thus formed before the window, greatly obscured the light, it attracted the attention of Shemmaiah, and when the cause came to be examined, the body of Hillel was found under the snow, and apparently lifeless. He was carried into the hall, his limbs were chafed, and restoratives applied until he came to himself. Thenceforth he was received into the school, and soon rose high in learning, and in the estimation of his teachers. He was a descendent of the royal family of David, through the female line; but of so meek and retiring a disposition, that, until forced into public notice by the necessity of the case which rendered an appeal to him, and a decision by him, indispensable, he does not appear to have been in anywise engaged in public affairs.

This was precisely the chief of Sanhedrin to suit Herod —high-born, pious, beloved by the people, but at the same time void of ambition, unassuming, not likely to mix himself up with politics in a manner dangerous to the royal authority. Moreover, he was a stranger in Judea, and without powerful connections; and Herod was probably not sorry to direct the notice of the people to the ancient royal family of David—whose rights had been superseded by the Asmoneans—and to show that this family—the sole legitimate heir to the sceptre of David—recognized his (Herod's) claims, and was willing to co-operate with him. Herod was sufficiently clear-sighted to perceive that under a president, mild, yet much respected, like Hillel, the Sanhedrin would prove a safety-valve, alike to king and to people. Accordingly, the great national council was at once reconstituted, Hillel recognized as its president, and the Essene Menahhem appointed vice-president.

This man not only resembled Hillel in temper, but was venerated by the people as a prophet, and was said to have

peculiar claims on Herod's gratitude.[13] Between these two good men the greatest harmony prevailed; and Herod, ever suspicious, began to feel alarmed at the unanimity with which the Sanhedrin acted on all occasions. He therefore contrived to remove Menahhem from his office of vice-president, by appointing him the king's lieutenant in some of the provinces, which rendered it necessary that he should reside out of Jerusalem. In his stead, Shammai was appointed vice-president, a man of warm temper and uncompromising principles. He was known to differ from Hillel on several questions of law (tradition speaks of five;) and when he took possession of his high office, the unanimity, that had so greatly alarmed Herod, at once ceased. Each of these two great teachers became the founder of a school, bearing his name, and found numerous disciples and adherents; and so fully occupied were they with their own debates, that during the whole of Herod's reign, the Sanhedrin gave him no further uneasiness.

Herod's choice of a high-priest was not so successful. Both his wife Mariamne, and his mother-in-law Alexandra, felt hurt that this high dignity—which of right belonged to young Aristobulus—should have been bestowed on an obscure Babylonian. These two women lived at daggers

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[13] Josephus (Ant. xv. 13) relates that Herod, when a schoolboy, passed an Essene, named Menahhem, who greeted the lad with a friendly voice, and saluted him as future king of the Jews. The boy felt hurt that Menahhem should thus, as he thought, ridicule him. But the Essene tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Be assured thou wilt become king, for such is the will of God; therefore remember these my words, when thou hast reached the pinnacle of greatness." When Herod, many years afterwards, became king, he sent for Menahhem, reminded him in a friendly manner of his prediction, and asked how long he (Herod) should reign. To this Menahhem made no reply. Herod next asked if the period of his reign would exceed ten years? To which Menahhem replied, "Yes, by more than twenty years." This also proved true, as Herod reigned thirty-three years.

drawn with Salomé, the sister of Herod, of a spirit intriguing and relentless like his own, and possessing great influence over him. Mariamne, in particular, beautiful, virtuous and accomplished, a princess born, a queen by marriage, looked down with scorn upon the base Idumean woman of doubtful virtue and questionable reputation, who presumed to claim equality with her; and the feelings she entertained she unhesitatingly expressed.

The strife which was thus brooding within his family and household found the first opportunity to burst forth at the wrong done to young Aristobulus by the appointment of Ananel. Mariamne began to complain and tease Herod; while Alexandra, a hot-headed, vindictive woman, even went further, and addressed her complaints to Cleopatra. The queen of Egypt warmly espoused her cause; not from any love of right or especial attachment to the Asmoneans, but because she coveted the possession of Judea, and expected that if Herod were ruined she herself might easily obtain a grant of that country from Antony. But, however secretly the correspondence between these two intriguing women was conducted, Herod's wide-spread *espionnage* obtained for him some intimation of what was going on, and convinced him that his public safety as well as his domestic peace rendered it necessary that he should restore his priestly inheritance to Aristobulus.

With his usual decision, Herod thereupon removed Ananel from the office of high-priest, appointing Aristobulus in his stead, and declaring to his wife and mother-in-law that he had only employed Ananel to officiate until Aristobulus should be old enough to do so. Soon afterward, however, a quarrel broke out between Herod and his mother-in-law, and he not only forbade her interfering with any public affairs, but even confined her to her palace, and caused her to be closely watched. Alexandra, alarmed for her own safety, now determined to accept that asylum

for herself and son, which had been offered to them in Egypt. She employed two faithful servants, one to hire a ship, the other to provide two coffins, in which to convey her and Aristobulus on board.

Accidentally, the matter was spoken of by one of the two to a third servant, whom he supposed likewise to be in the secret, but who, enraged that greater confidence should have been placed in his fellow-servants than in himself, betrayed the whole plan to Herod. The crafty king permitted mother and son to proceed sufficiently far to place their design of flight beyond question, and then caused them to be arrested and brought back. His fear of Cleopatra's resentment, however, prevented the explosion of his own; he therefore, apparently, yielded to the entreaties of his wife, Mariamne, and putting on the mask of clemency, Herod pardoned the fugitives, and even allowed himself to be reconciled to Alexandra.

But Herod never forgave; when expediency did not permit immediate revenge, he knew how to bide his time. He fully determined to get rid of Aristobulus, who, verging toward manhood, gave promise of emulating the spirit and abilities of the most gifted of his ancestors, and consequently roused the worst fears of Herod; nor did that ruffian long hesitate as to the means. At the feast of the Tabernacles, solemnized as usual with great magnificence, the young high-priest—then about seventeen years of age—appeared at the altar in his pontifical garments and ornaments, and officiated with such dignity and grace, that shouts of acclamation rent the air, and temple and city resounded with the praises and blessings that the assembled multitude showered on the HEIR OF THE ASMONEANS. This outburst of popular favour sealed the doom of the unfortunate youth, and impelled Herod to the instant execution of his purpose, which was to commit murder, but to save appearances.

Immediately after the solemnities were over, the king and the high-priest left Jerusalem together, for Jericho, where the princess Alexandra had invited them to a magnificent banquet. The weather was very hot, and, toward nightfall, Aristobulus was induced to bathe in a pond or pool of clear cold water; several of his young friends went into the water and played about with him. Herod had stationed some of his Gallic mercenaries near the pond, who also entered the water and mixed in the sports of the young men. Taking advantage of the rapid transition from daylight to darkness which prevails in Judea, these hireling ruffians caught hold of the unfortunate high-priest, forced his head under water, as if in sport, but kept him there, unperceived by his own companions, until he was suffocated. Such is the account of this nefarious deed as given by Josephus, (Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 3,) and confirmed by all Jewish historians, except that R. Abraham ben Dior (*Dibre Malhhe Bayith Sheni*, p. 13 B.) places the scene of the murder, not in a pool, but in the river Jordan, which flows near Jericho.

When the accident was discovered, and the corpse of the hapless young high-priest was carried to the palace of his mother, nothing could excel the well-played grief of Herod, nor the magnificence with which he caused the funeral obsequies of the heir of the Asmoneans to be performed. But all his attempts to disculpate himself were vain; the people saw through his perfidious grimaces, and, hated as he had been before, he now became even more odious and detestable. But the spirit of resistance, though not altogether crushed, was too greatly reduced and humbled. People saw how hopeless must be any contest against the minion of Rome; they therefore submitted with silent but ill-disguised resentment.

But Alexandra, the mother of the murdered youth, strong in the support of Cleopatra, determined to seek and

obtain justice. Her despair had, at first, been so violent that she was, with difficulty, prevented from suicide. But the eager desire for revenge against the murderer at length overcame her despair, and taught her how to assume the outward bearing of resignation. She carried herself so calmly, and seemed so implicitly to believe her bereavement the result of accident, that Herod's vigilance was gradually disarmed, and she at length found the much-coveted opportunity of sending to the Queen of Egypt a trusty messenger, the bearer of a letter in which the wretched mother poured forth all the pent-up agony of her heart.

Cleopatra was ready as ever, and from the same selfish motives, to espouse her cause; and she ceased not to importune her paramour, Antony, who again had joined her, until, overcome by her perseverance, he sent orders to Herod to appear and clear himself of the murder before him at Laodicea, whither Antony repaired, and where Cleopatra met him.

This was a summons Herod dared not disobey. He, therefore, though unwillingly, set out to confront his accuser Cleopatra. Before his departure he intrusted his wife, the beloved Mariamne, to the protection and guardianship of his uncle Joseph. As Herod felt uneasy in his own mind, and did not know how he would fare with Antony, the violence of his love for Mariamne, and the jealousy which it inspired, extorted from him the inhuman command that, in case he himself lost his life, Joseph was immediately to put Mariamne to death. Herod had reason to believe that Antony was no stranger to the fame of Mariamne's beauty, and the idea that after his own death his widow might fall into the power of that *debauché*, so exasperated Herod's mind that his uncle could only calm his agony by the solemn promise that he would strictly obey the secret command with which Herod had charged him.

After having completed this, and such other arrangements as he deemed necessary, Herod proceeded to Laodicea and presented himself before Antony. The triumvir could not but remember that Herod had originally sought to obtain for the murdered youth the crown he now wore himself; and, worked upon by Cleopatra's representations, the Roman received the king of his own creation with a stern countenance. But the client was too well acquainted with the character of his patron to be intimidated by a frowning brow. Herod knew that gold was all-powerful with the Romans; and as he soon discovered that Antony was not actuated by the love of justice, but set on by Cleopatra, who, in her turn, only sought to gratify her own cupidity, Herod bribed so high, his gifts and promises were so profusely distributed, that, as there was no direct evidence against him, he was honourably acquitted; while the avarice of Cleopatra was in some degree appeased by the assignment to her of Cœle-Syria, instead of Judea, of which she had always been, and soon again became, covetous. (34 B. C. E.)

During Herod's absence, his uncle Joseph—the husband of his sister Salomé—deemed it his duty frequently to visit his fair ward, Queen Mariamne; and finding that her mother Alexandra used her influence over the mind of her daughter to prejudice her against her absent husband, her guardian, in order to counteract that influence, took every opportunity to extol Herod's merits and his extreme love for Mariamne. At length, in his zeal for his nephew, the old man was so indiscreet as to disclose the fatal orders which Herod had left with him. This, he insisted, was the most irrefragable proof of the greatness and sincerity of Herod's love. On the queen, however, the disclosure produced an effect quite the contrary to what Joseph intended; since she construed it into an unmistakable manifestation of cruel jealousy and inhuman selfishness that dis-

gusted her, and introduced into her heart the first seeds of a dislike to Herod, which in time became invincible.

While these debates were going on between her and her guardian, a rumour suddenly began to spread over Jerusalem, that Herod had been put to death by Antony. And though the source of this report could not be traced, it threw the whole court into great consternation. The agony and alarm of Mariamne, in particular, appeared so uncontrollable, that her mother's attention was excited; and upon remonstrating with her daughter, Alexandra had no difficulty in discovering the cause, which was not so much grief at the loss of her husband, as terror at her own impending fate in consequence of the orders he had left with his uncle. Alexandra at once repaired to Joseph, and exerted all her eloquence to induce him to leave Jerusalem with her and her daughter, in order to place themselves under the protection of the Roman eagles, as a legion was stationed at no great distance from that city.

Joseph, who was by no means cruel, and who, moreover, dreaded the consequence to himself of carrying out the orders he had bound himself to obey, was hesitating what to do, when their deliberations were suddenly terminated by the opportune arrival of letters from Herod himself, announcing his being higher than ever in favour with Antony, who was daily heaping fresh marks of his affection and confidence upon him. He also informed Joseph of his approaching return to Jerusalem. These tidings, while they relieved Mariamne from her terrors, completely deranged Alexandra's plans; but, however secretly the interviews between her and Joseph had been held, they had not altogether escaped the watchful and jealous eye of Salomê. As soon as her brother Herod returned, she informed him of the purposed flight of his wife, accompanied by her mother and his uncle; and Salomé completed her denunciations of Herod's wife and her own husband, by accusing Mari-

amne of having been too familiar in her intercourse with Joseph during Herod's absence.

Upon her first interview with her husband, Mariamne easily cleared her innocence. For, though Salomé's accusation had left a sting behind, Herod became at once subdued when his Mariamne's beauty once more shone upon him. He could only bring himself to question her gently; when her answers, and the conscious innocence of her manner, soon satisfied him that she had been maligned. He then began to assure her of the ardour and sincerity of his love for her; but she, indignant at the recollection of her narrow escape, and offended at the tenor of his questions, tauntingly replied, she needed no other assurance of his love than the orders he had left with his uncle Joseph. This most imprudent disclosure at once rekindled all his jealousy, and goaded him into a paroxysm of rage, bordering on madness, which led him to conclude that nothing short of the criminal violation of her duty as a wife—of which Salomé indeed had accused her—could have seduced his uncle into a betrayal of his trust. In the first burst of his fury he was on the point of putting Mariamne to death with his own hand; but his love prevailed over his resentment, and he spared her. But the unhappy Joseph fell an instant victim to Herod's phrensy. Without permitting his uncle to appear before him, or deigning to hear what might be urged in his defence, the king caused him at once to be put to death. Alexandra likewise was made to feel the weight of his anger. For, looking upon her as the sole cause of all this mischief, he ordered her to be loaded with chains and confined to a close prison, under a strong guard.

The family of the Asmoneans was now reduced to three individuals; two women, entirely in Herod's power, and one decrepit old man, a prisoner at large in Parthia. When poor old Hyrcanus was surrendered by Antigonus

for safe keeping to Barzaphernes, that general sent him to Seleucia in chains. But when Phraates, the Parthian king, became informed of Hyrcanus' high birth and dignity, he instantly freed him from his chains, and permitted him to live at Babylon under the loose sort of surveillance which the Parthians were in the habit of extending to their royal captives. The Jews of Seleucia, Babylon, and generally on the Euphrates, *who were more numerous and wealthy* than the Judeans, received Hyrcanus with the greatest veneration as their own high-priest, and as a king of their metropolis and nation; and as he was treated with great respect by the king of Parthia, Hyrcanus, in his honourable captivity, was as happily situated and as free from care or fears as he possibly could wish.

But Herod could not rest while one of the dreaded family was free and beyond his reach. He therefore sent to Hyrcanus, and invited him to come and pass the remainder of his days in his own land, and with his own family; while at the same time he addressed to the king of Parthia the request to permit his aged prisoner-guest to return to his own home—a request which was readily granted.

Hyrcanus' eastern friends used every remonstrance and entreaty to induce him to stay among them, especially when they heard of the appointment of their obscure countryman, Ananel, to the dignity of high-priest. But Hyrcanus loved the holy land of which he was a native, and the temple of the Lord in which he had so long officiated; he loved his daughter and his grandchildren, all of whom were then still alive; he loved Herod, and had great confidence in his gratitude. Moreover, when Herod invited him to come and be the partner of his grandeur and his power, the old man thought that his presence might induce Herod all the more readily to restore to him the dignity of high-priest, of which Hyrcanus alone was the lawful possessor, and which, as his mutilation prevented his officiat-

ing, he had a right to transfer to his grandson Aristobulus. All these considerations united to induce Hyrcanus's return to Jerusalem, where he was received with every respect and treated with great kindness by Herod, who had already placed the young man in that high dignity of which, together with his life, he was so soon deprived.

The king of Judea was now as prosperous as he could ever have hoped to be. His enemies were all destroyed; his people, though they loved him not, obeyed his behests; the family, whose rights he usurped, was helpless in his power, and on the point of becoming extinct, save in his own branch. With his suzerain Antony and with Rome he was in high favour; and the avarice of Cleopatra he thought he had gratified to its fullest extent. In this, however, he was mistaken, for her cupidity was insatiable and boundless, like her influence over Antony. Possessed of Cœle-Syria, she cast a longing eye at Judea, the only territory that separated her kingdom of Egypt from her possessions in Syria. Accordingly, her importunities with Antony were repeated again and again. And though he steadily refused to sacrifice Herod to her grasping covetousness, she had succeeded in wringing from her paramour a grant of the fertile domains round Jericho, a plain celebrated for its precious balm and its many palm-trees, and which yielded a considerable annual revenue, the deprivation of which seriously affected the sum total of Herod's income.

In the year 33 B. C. E., Cleopatra accompanied Antony as far as the Euphrates, on an expedition against the Parthians. On her way home to Alexandria, she honoured Jerusalem with a visit, where she was received and entertained with the utmost magnificence. During her stay she tried in vain every means to bring the king of Judea under the spell of those fascinations for which, even more than for her beauty, she was celebrated. The husband of the vir-

tuous, young, and lovely Mariamne found no difficulty in resisting the allurements of a meretricious coquette in the decline of life; but the means the royal strumpet employed to seduce him added disgust and contempt to the sense of wrong which he already felt toward her, until his sentiments ripened into one of loathing and bitter hatred. In the midst of the banquets and festivities to which he treated her, the idea continually haunted him that she was entirely in his power, and that he ought to deprive of life an enemy who had more than once sought to destroy him. He even went so far as to consult his friends whether it would not be a meritorious act toward Rome, and even toward Mark Antony, at once to get rid of that crafty woman whose yoke weighed so heavily on the triumvir.

But his counsellors possessed not his boldness. With them the dread of Antony's vengeance overcame every other consideration. They therefore not only dissuaded Herod from his design, but even prevailed upon him to glut her avarice with costly gifts, which he did with the utmost profuseness. On what slight threads does the destiny of mankind sometimes appear to hang! Had there, among Herod's advisers, been only two, or one, bold enough to enter into and carry out his views, what a change would this crime, the murder of Cleopatra, have wrought in the annals of history? How different might have been the future fortunes of Antony, of Octavius Cæsar, of Rome, of he civilized world!

But it was not to be. Herod, who always followed his own advice and never hesitated to shed blood, for once allowed himself to be persuaded, and to abstain from a crime that would have been the least criminal of the many he did not scruple to commit. After having entertained Cleopatra with the most sedulous attention and apparent respect, he conducted her with honour to Pelusium, on the borders of her own kingdom, where they separated with

many expressions of mutual regard, seconded by magnificent parting presents from Herod to the queen. But Herod was not for an instant deceived by Cleopatra's professions of friendship. From the bitter hatred he entertained against her, disguised under the semblance of affectionate regard, he rightly concluded what her own feelings toward him were likely to be; for well he knew that no enmity could be more rancorous than that of a dissolute but proud woman, whose amorous advances had been rejected. He was, therefore, continually on his guard against her machinations. That she might have no cause of complaint against him, he took care punctually to transmit to her the revenues of her possessions in Judea, which he farmed for two hundred talents, or two hundred thousand dollars, per annum. And that he himself might have a place of refuge in case of need, he caused the stronghold of Massada to be still further fortified, placed in it a strong garrison of his most trusty veterans, and furnished it with arms and provisions for a force of ten thousand men.

But all his precautions proved insufficient, and the crafty Cleopatra spread such a net for him, that all his courage and prudence were barely able to save him. Along with grants in Judea, Antony had also bestowed on her a considerable amount of annual tribute, to be paid by the king of the Arabs. So long as Antony's power in the East remained supreme and unquestioned, King Malchus submitted with a good grace, and paid the tribute extorted from him. But the friendship between the East and the West, Octavius Cæsar and Antony, had at length been broken; and the two competitors for the empire of the world were marshalling their forces for a decisive conflict.

Antony, indeed, by his infatuation for Cleopatra, had done every thing to provoke Octavius. To please the queen of Egypt, the triumvir divorced his wife, the virtuous Octavia. While he invested Cleopatra and Cesarion—her son

by Julius Cæsar—with the kingdom of Egypt, such as, in its fullest amplitude, it had been held by Ptolemy Philadelphus, he caused his own two sons by her to appear in public; the eldest, Alexander, as king of Syria, with the cloak and cap worn by the Seleucidæ, and the younger with the Median robe and erect tiara, worn by the great kings of the East, as destined by his father to become king of Central Asia. This dismembering of the dominions of the republic in favour of a foreign queen and her adulterous progeny was considered an insufferable outrage on Rome; and the measure of Antony's offences was completed by the publishing of certain parts of his testament, in many clauses of which he appeared to have altogether divorced himself of every feeling of a Roman citizen. Octavius, with his habitual skill, availed himself of the public indignation, to vindicate his private quarrel. By a decree of the senate, Antony was deposed from his triumviral power; and it was enacted that war should be solemnly declared, not against him, but against the queen of Egypt, the paramour who had enthralled his soul, the sorceress who had infatuated his understanding. To enforce this decree, Octavius prepared to cross the Adriatic Sea, and to invade the dominions of Antony with an army of one hundred thousand men, while his fleet numbered five hundred stout galleys. To repel this invasion, Antony concentrated in Greece his forces, which were even more considerable than those of Octavius. (32 B. C. E.)

This crisis in the affairs of the world King Malchus, the Arab, looked upon as favourable for recovering his independence, and he began by withholding from Cleopatra the payment of his annual tribute. Herod had raised a considerable force, with which he intended to join Antony's army. But as the infatuated triumvir considered all other matters as subordinate to the interests of Cleopatra, he ordered Herod to turn his arms against the Arabians.

This was too good an opportunity for Cleopatra to neglect. Her cupidity was sure to be gratified, for whichever way victory decided between the two kings, she made sure of seizing upon the territories of the conquered. But as she hated Herod most, and foresaw that his military talents and the superior character of his troops gave him great advantages, over Malchus, she contrived a deep-laid scheme for the utter ruin of the king of Judea. Under the pretence of reinforcing his army, she caused a considerable body of her own troops to join him. These she placed under the command of Athenion—a general whose hatred of Herod was equal to her own—with orders to watch his opportunity to betray Herod and to destroy his army.

The king of Judea had not waited for the arrival of the Egyptian auxiliaries, but with his usual celerity and success had attacked and defeated Malchus. The Arab, however, had raised a second army, and marched into Cœle-Syria. Here Herod and Athenion encountered him at a place called Cana, and a second battle was fought, which the king of Judea was on the point of gaining, when the Egyptians, who had not taken any active part in the fight, suddenly fell upon Herod's troops before they could rally, and, in spite of Herod's bravery and exertions, cut the greater part of the Jews in pieces, and plundered their camp, Herod himself, and the few survivors, escaping with great difficulty. (Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 6.)

To remedy this disaster, Herod collected around him the garrisons from his numerous strongholds, and with great diligence levied new forces. The fourth book of Maccabees (ch. lvi.) relates that Athenion had orders to surround Herod's army and complete its utter destruction, after he should have engaged the Arabs. But Herod, with consummate skill, so stationed his troops that they could not be attacked except at great disadvantage, while he himself avoided coming to any decisive engagement;

but contented himself with making frequent and unexpected incursions into the Arab territories, thus harassing the enemy, and at the same time training his own new levies to war. But shortly after the defeat at Cana, all Judea was visited by an earthquake, the like of which had never before been experienced, and which destroyed many thousands of persons, who perished amidst the ruins of their houses. The loss of property in cattle, buildings, and merchandise, was immense.

These repeated calamities induced Herod to sue for peace. For, though his own troops had escaped the common ruin, by being encamped in the open fields, the loss sustained by his kingdom did not allow him to continue the war without altogether destroying the resources of his people. Moreover, the treachery of the Egyptians was so manifest that Herod justly held himself absolved from any engagements toward their queen. He therefore sent an embassy to King Malchus, with powers to negotiate peace on any reasonable terms. But the tidings of the destruction wrought by the earthquake had preceded the embassy; and as the accounts of Herod's losses had been greatly exaggerated, the Arabs not only refused to grant him peace, but slew his ambassadors, and hastened to invade Judea, which they expected to find quite defenceless.

Herod had, indeed, great difficulty to keep his troops together, but, after having revived their courage by a bold and eloquent address, he led them to meet the invaders; and the old Maccabean spirit being once more roused in the Jews in defence of their wives, their children and their homes, Herod defeated the Arabs at Philadelphia, or Rabbath-Ammon, where they lost five thousand men. He then besieged them in their fortified camp, where they speedily were reduced to great distress for want of water. They therefore opened a negotiation with him, offering fifty talents (about 50,000 dollars) for permission to re-

treat, which he refused. The Arabs, during five days, endured all the horrors of thirst, which compelled numbers of them to desert and to surrender to the besiegers; but on the sixth day, urged on by despair, and preferring to die by the sword rather than to perish miserably for want of water, the Arabs rushed forth to cut their way through his lines. In this they failed; seven thousand of them were slain, and the survivors driven back into their camp. They now humbly besought him to spare their lives, offering to submit to any terms he should dictate; and Herod, deeming them sufficiently punished for the murder of his ambassadors, admitted them to terms, by which, in addition to the payment of a large sum of money, the Arabs recognised Herod as chief ruler of their nation.

Triumphant, but still smarting under the heavy losses which Cleopatra's vindictiveness and treachery had inflicted upon him, Herod returned to Jerusalem, where soon after he received the astounding intelligence of the battle of Actium, (2d September, 31 B. C. E.) in which Octavius obtained a decided victory over Antony, who fled to Egypt. It was said that Antony's disaster had been caused by Cleopatra, who had accompanied him to the seat of war, but whose impatience to return to Alexandria became so great, that she prevailed on him, contrary to the advice of his best officers, to fight by sea. But in the midst of the battle Cleopatra fled, was followed by her fleet, and by Antony himself, who thus deserted his forces. The consequence was the defeat of his fleet and the surrender to the victor of his army of nineteen legions, whom the vanquished triumvir abandoned.

These details, so little creditable to Antony, did not at once reach Judea, where Herod, actuated alike by his hatred of Cleopatra and his confidence in Antony's valour and military talents, determined to stand by the patron of his fortunes. He, therefore, sent a special messenger to

Antony to exhort him at once to seize upon Egypt, and to put to death the woman who had caused his ruin, but whose vast treasures, the proceeds of Antony's boundless generosity, would furnish him the means of raising another army, and enable him either to continue the war or to obtain better terms of peace than he could otherwise expect. This, however, was advice which, infatuated as ever, Antony was unwilling and unable to follow. But, as he felt the importance of preserving the support of a man so able and powerful as Herod, Antony dispatched one of his attendants, in appearance the most devoted, to Jerusalem, to induce Herod to remain true to their alliance. But this attendant, Alexas of Laodicea, convinced that Antony's cause was hopeless, betrayed his master's confidence, and even urged Herod to submit to Octavius, and in person to wait upon that conqueror. (Plutarch, M. Anton, § 79, 80.)

Herod having thus, contrary to the traditional policy of the house of Antipater, endeavoured to serve a failing cause, at length saw the necessity of taking care of himself and to make his peace with the victor. This, however, was a step attended with great danger and difficulty. Hyrcanus, the last legitimate representative of the Asmoneans and the friend of Julius Cæsar, had been recognised sovereign of Judea, and as such been admitted to the alliance of Rome; whereas Herod, the usurper, had no other right to the crown of Judea than what the bought patronage of the now ruined and disgraced Antony had conferred upon him. Herod knew that his mother-in-law, Alexandra, ambitious, intriguing, and ever watchful for revenge, was on the alert to take advantage of the change of affairs against him. He, therefore, determined to get rid of Hyrcanus, and the manner in which he contrived to do this, by sentence of law and under a semblance of justice, was a masterpiece of diabolical duplicity.

Herod had inherited from his father a thorough acquaintance with Hyrcanus' weakness, and knew that cowardice, fear for his life, was as strong in Hyrcanus at the age of eighty years as it had been at that of forty. Herod, therefore, bribed one of Hyrcanus' confidential attendants to work upon the old man's fears by assuring him that Herod meant to assassinate him; and urging him to seek a refuge with Malchus, the enemy of Herod, and the son of that Aretas, king of the Arabs, with whom Hyrcanus had already once found a safe and honourable asylum. Hyrcanus, influenced by his constitutional timidity, consented, and applied to Malchus, who at once assured him of his protection. A portion of this correspondence, in which Alexandra became implicated, was handed over by Hyrcanus' treacherous servant to Herod, who thereupon summoned Hyrcanus before his council and accused him of entering into a treasonable correspondence with the king's enemy. The old man denied, but was struck dumb by having his own letter placed before him. Herod caused him to be condemned and beheaded in the eightieth year of his age. And thus this unfortunate pontiff, whose weakness of character had brought ruin on his country and family, was stung to death by the serpent he himself had warmed into life. (Jos. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 9—fourth Maccab. cap. LIV. 4.)

After this preliminary step, Herod's next care was to provide for the safety of his family. His mother, Cypros, with his five children and his sister Salomé, he sent to the castle of Alexandrion and committed to the care of his brother Pheroras, who had orders, in case any misfortune befel Herod, to endeavour to secure the crown for his children. As his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra could not live in peace with his own mother and sister, he placed them in the stronghold of Massada, under the care of Sohemus, a trusty Idumean, who had orders to kill them

both in case Herod should be put to death by Octavius. And having completed these preparations, the king of Judea embarked for the island of Rhodes, where Octavius Cæsar then stayed. (30 B. C. E.)

Herod's conduct at his interview with Octavius Cæsar offers the most praiseworthy page in his long history, and speaks highly for his tact, moral courage, and just appreciation of men and events. The king of Judea presented himself before the master of the Roman world, arrayed in his royal robes, and wearing all his royal ornaments except his diadem. His manner was calm and self-possessed, his voice firm and clear, and his bearing altogether that of a man who felt that all he had hitherto done, as well as that which he was now about to do, was right.

In his address he attempted neither to deny his attachment and gratitude to Antony, nor the services and assistance he had rendered that patron of his fortunes. He even declared that he had advised Antony to put to death Cleopatra and to seize on her kingdom, the better to be able to carry on war or to obtain peace. "All this," said he, "I thought myself bound, in honour, gratitude, and friendship, to do for Antony; but since he has rejected my last advice, he leaves me at liberty to tender my future services to you, and if you deem them worthy your acceptance you shall henceforth find me as devoted and steadfast a friend to you as hitherto I have been to him." As an earnest of his sincerity in making this offer, Herod mentioned the timely succour he had lately given to Q. Didius, whom Octavius had appointed governor of Syria, against the gladiators of Antony.[14] Octavius Cæsar was much pleased

[14] Antony had, at *Cyzicus*, on the Propontis, established a large school (as it was called) of gladiators whom he intended to exhibit in his triumphal games at Rome. After the battle of Actium, and when all his adherents abandoned and betrayed him, these ruffians, the ruthless and abject tools of Rome's inhuman amusements, but who alone, with the ferocity of

with Herod's manly frankness, which produced an effect all the more powerful on his mind, as it was the first instance of the kind he had met with in the East. He was, moreover, not slow to discover the importance of Herod's alliance in his proposed invasion and conquest of Egypt.

This country, the last refuge of Antony, the stronghold of Cleopatra, had, during a series of years, been wonderfully enriched at the expense of the eastern and wealthiest division of the Roman empire, by the rapacity of a woman alike insatiable in all her passions. These accumulated treasures Octavius longed to possess, as they would enable him to reward his troops and to disband an army by far too numerous. But the imprudent haste with which his adopted father Julius had hurried to Egypt with an inadequate force, and which had brought him to the verge of destruction, taught Octavius the necessity of invading that country with sufficient power; and this could only be done by a march through Judea, which the friendship of Herod could greatly facilitate; while, on the other hand, his enmity, especially if backed by the skill and strength of Antony, might greatly, and perhaps insurmountably, impede the advance of Octavius.

These considerations, and a recollection of the ancient friendship between Julius Cæsar and Antipater, and of the part he himself had taken in placing Herod on the throne,

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brutes, also possessed the brute's fidelity to the hand that feeds it, remained true to their master, and determined to join and support him. For this purpose they fought their way through several provinces, until they reached Syria, where their progress was finally stopped by the Governor Didius, secretly assisted by Herod. For, as the latter was still considered as the true friend of Antony, the gladiators allowed themselves to be influenced by his directions. The consequence was, that this formidable body of reckless men was first divided and then disarmed and dispersed—a series of measures that cost many of the gladiators their lives. (Dion, p. 447.)

induced Octavius to receive Herod's overtures with pleasure; and, telling him that he accepted his friendship, he bade Herod take his diadem and wear it in his presence. This was a significant intimation of his being confirmed by Octavius in the kingdom of Judea; and as Herod, with his habitual tact and profuseness, made rich presents to Octavius himself, and to those who stood highest in the *imperator's* friendship and confidence, the king of Judea soon became a special favourite, and thenceforth was treated with a degree of consideration which the haughty Romans seldom extended to tributary princes.

After a short sojourn at Rhodes, Herod returned to Jerusalem, delighted with the treatment he had received, and exulting in his own mind at the security and prosperity which he was now certain of enjoying, and which were all the more sweet since he could with justice ascribe them solely to his own personal merit and good management. But that retributive justice which, in his public career and royal diplomacy, Herod knew so skilfully how to evade, was to visit him all the more heavily in his private life and domestic affections. Mariamne and her mother, Alexandra, looked upon their residence at Massada as no better than an imprisonment ill disguised. The queen remembered with horror the cruel orders concerning her, which, on the occasion of his former dangerous journey, her husband had left behind him. Assisted by her mother, she did not rest till she had succeeded in artfully extracting from Sohemus the confession that he himself had received similar directions from the king. This completely destroyed any remnant of attachment which she yet entertained for the father of her children.

Thenceforward she beheld in Herod only the detested murderer of her race, the ferocious and selfish tyrant who twice had plotted her own destruction. She recapitulated to herself all the horrors she had witnessed, all the mental

agony she had endured since her marriage with Herod, the servant of her grandfather, Hyrcanus. How during the first months of her wedded life she beheld the sack of Jerusalem, the ruthless proscription of every friend and adherent of her family. As long as she could recollect, the house of Antipater had exercised its baneful influence on those that were nearest and dearest to her. King Aristobulus II., her grandfather, Prince Alexander, her father, King Antigonus, her father's brother, had all perished untimely, hurried into their bloodstained graves by the ambition of these destructive Idumeans. And though the hand of Herod might not be plainly visible in the ignominious execution of her uncle, yet the death of her beloved brother under circumstances so suspicious, ceased, in her opinion, to be accidental, since the recent judicial assassination of her aged and venerated grandfather made it evident that he who shed the blood of old Hyrcanus would assuredly not permit young Aristobulus to live. When all these cruel injuries were still further embittered by the reflection that their ruthless perpetrator had twice laid a snare for her own life, and only spared her to gratify his own selfish feelings, Mariamne's energies were all roused to resistance. Her pure and noble character guarded her against the commission of any crime; but, armed only with her courage and with her beauty, she rose in the strength of that love by which, in spite of himself, Herod was subjugated, and took upon herself the part of an avenging power, against the blows of which neither the might of Herod nor the protection of Cæsar could avail.

When Herod, in the pride and joy of his success, immediately, on his return to Jerusalem, hastened to Massada to gladden the heart of his beloved wife, she received him with a haughty and stern coolness, which gradually, as his detested presence and the recollection of her wrongs worked on her mind, found vent in a torrent of tears and

reproaches. Instructed by the fatal outbreak which had cost Joseph his life, Mariamne did not disclose her knowledge of Herod's orders to Sohemus; but the recent execution of her grandfather, the misfortunes of her family, and her own aversion, furnished sufficient subjects for crimination. This reception, so unexpected and so painful, provoked the rage of Herod to the utmost. In his anger he accused her of incontinence, and threatened her with instant death; but strong in her innocence, she remained unmoved at his anger, while she treated his efforts at reconciliation with scorn.

Herod's public duties, however, compelled him for a time to turn his attention from Mariamne to Octavius Cæsar. That conqueror, leading his troops against Egypt, passed through Syria. Herod went to meet him as far as Ptolemais, the northernmost boundary of his kingdom, and accompanied him as far as Pelusium, the strong frontier fortress of Egypt, which, however, by the order of Cleopatra, opened its gates and admitted the Roman without resistance. At their first meeting, Herod entertained Cæsar and his army with great magnificence; and, in addition to a present of eight hundred talents (about 800,000 dollars) in money, the king of Judea had taken care to store up vast quantities of bread, wine, and other provisions, which he placed in magazines in different parts of the deserts the Romans had to march through; a measure of precaution which fully proved the value of Herod's alliance, since, without these supplies furnished by him, the Roman army would have run the risk of wanting both bread and water. And so pleased was Octavius with Herod's prudence, generosity and politeness, that he singled him out from among the crowd of tributary princes, courted his society, and made him ride at his side whenever the imperator went forth to review his troops, or for any other diversion.

Octavius's campaign in Egypt was a brief one. Mark

Antony, deserted by his few remaining adherents, and betrayed by Cleopatra, died by his own hand. The queen of Egypt, after having in vain essayed the force of those blandishments which had overcome Julius Cæsar and enthralled Antony, but which Octavius, like Herod, treated with indifference, preferred a voluntary death to the disgrace of being exhibited as a captive in Octavius's triumph at Rome. The last of the Ptolomeans maintained her imperial loftiness even in death. A small wound in her arm was the only mark of violence on her person, leaving it doubtful whether she died from the bite of an asp or the puncture of a poisoned instrument. By the assistance of her two women, Eiros and Charmion, she reposed on a couch of state, royally attired, and her head encircled with a diadem. In this posture she was found lifeless by the Roman officer who had the custody of her person. Eiros lay dead before the couch; Charmion was on the point of expiring, but, seeing that the diadem was about to drop from her mistress's head, she made a last effort to fix it on gracefully. (Strabo, lib. xvii. 795, et seq.)

By her death Octavius Cæsar became master, without any capitulation or treaty, of Alexandria and all Egypt. He entered the market-place, and, addressing the citizens in Greek, told them that he spared the city for the sake of its founder, and removed all apprehension with regard to the safety of their persons, which, by the laws of war, the conqueror had the right to dispose of at his pleasure. But an enormous ransom, not less than two-thirds of their property, was exacted from the wealthy classes throughout Egypt. And such was the influx of ready money thereby caused in Rome, that, shortly after the reduction of that kingdom, the value of lands doubled throughout Italy, while the interest of money was reduced to one-third of its former rate. (Dion, p. 459.) The kingdom of Egypt was declared a Roman province, and thus all the possessions

and conquests of Alexander the Great, west of the Euphrates, were incorporated with the vast empire of the Cæsars. On his return from Egypt, Octavius again passed through Syria, and was once more and most magnificently entertained by Herod, whose recent services were now most generously rewarded. Octavius made him a present of 4000 Gauls, who had served as Cleopatra's life-guard, and restored to him not only the plains and revenues of Jericho, of which Antony had deprived him, but also many of the territories which, since the days of Pompey, had remained separated from the kingdom of Judea, but the possession of which now afforded a great accession of wealth and power to Herod, who thenceforth remained firmly established in the high favour of Cæsar. (29 B. C. E.)

But all his grandeur and success could not compensate him for the loss of Mariamne's love, a privation which, now relieved from the anxieties of government and disposed to enjoy the fruit of his toils, he felt most keenly. A whole year had now passed, during which Herod had been fluctuating between love and resentment; for Mariamne, though the mother of several children, seemed possessed by one sentiment only, that of scornful aversion for her husband. One purpose only seemed to actuate her, that of tormenting his heart by the very excess of his love for her. Hatred, indignation, bitter irony, dictated every sentence she deigned to address to the low-born adventurer, who, by violence and fraud, had possessed himself of her hand; to the murderer of her whole family, who had sold himself as a slave to the stranger that he might become a tyrant over his own people. To these sallies of her detestation, Herod alternately opposed the rage of the provoked, the excuses of the uxorious husband, in vain; she treated with equal disdain his stern menaces as a king and his submissive entreaties as a lover.

At length Mariamne brought matters to a crisis by her

pointed refusal to receive his love, and by her upbraiding him more virulently than ever with the murder of her brother and grandfather. This so exasperated Herod that he was on the point of killing her with his own hand. His sister Salomé, who during the whole of his domestic dissensions had aggravated his mind, determined to make the most of his actual exasperation. She had long before corrupted the queen's cup-bearer; and now she sent him to Herod with a cup of poisoned wine in one hand and a bag of money in the other, to accuse the queen of having given him this money as a bribe to administer that cup to the king. This new accusation so worked upon Herod's rage that he caused the queen's favourite eunuch, who was also her principal confidant, to be put to the rack.

But the only confession Herod's tortures could wring from the wretched eunuch was that he believed the orders the king had left with Sohemus, and which he had communicated to the queen, were the cause of her exasperation, which at all events dated from the time of that communication. This confession roused Herod's jealousy. He had reposed unlimited confidence in the oft-tried faithfulness of Sohemus; he knew that this Idumean officer was not to be corrupted with gold. If then this Sohemus had betrayed his trust, the reward of his treason could have been nothing less than the guilty love of the peerless Mariamne. The conviction of their criminality became so strong in the mind of Herod, that forthwith, and without deigning to hear what Sohemus' defence might offer, he caused that unhappy favourite to be put to death.

The king next proceeded to accuse the queen of adultery, and to place her on her trial, not before the high court of the Sanhedrin, but before a tribunal composed of creatures of his own. Even these judges of his own selection hesitated to condemn her in the absence of all proof; but Herod's charges against her were so vehement, that he

left the judges no choice between her condemnation and their own ruin. They, therefore, declared her guilty, and sentenced her to death. But, at the same time, they directed that no execution should take place, but that the queen should remain confined in one of the royal castles, until the king should become more calm and have leisure to consult with his own heart. This, however, was what Salomé dreaded above all things. Judging Mariamne's disposition by her own, Salomé apprehended that the fear of death would overcome every other feeling in the mind of the queen; and that if the opportunity was afforded her to make submission to her husband, he would doubtless pardon her, and she would as certainly in time recover her ascendency over his heart, in which case it would be easy for her to prove her innocence and to turn the tables on her accusers. To prevent the possibility of a reconciliation, Salomé contrived to raise an *emeute* in Jerusalem for the alleged purpose of liberating the queen.

It is difficult to decide whether popular indignation had any, and what, share in the tumult, or whether it was altogether the work of Salomé's emissaries. But it was sufficiently serious to enable Salomé, and her mother Cypros, to persuade Herod that all Judea was on the point of rising to defend Mariamne, and to destroy him and his family. Herod was a bold man: but "'tis conscience that makes cowards of us all;" and, overcome by the dread of a general insurrection in favour of Mariamne, if she were permitted longer to live, the king at length yielded to the importunities of his mother and sister, and signed an order for the immediate execution of his wife.

Mariamne received the announcement of her fate with firmness and dignity. One moment of regret, of bitter anguish at the thought of her children, and then she prepared, cheerfully, to die, since death alone could release her from her duties as the wife of the detested Herod.

As she calmly went forth to the place of execution, she was encountered by her mother, Alexandra. This ambitious and intriguing woman, greatly alarmed for her own safety, could think of no better expedient to avert her impending fate than to ingratiate herself with Herod by insulting his unhappy wife. All the way Mariamne was led along, her unnatural mother kept loading her with reproaches the most bitter for her ingratitude and faithlessness to the best of husbands. In her rage, real or assumed, Alexandra even attempted to strike the queen, and to pull her by the hair. A blush of shame and indignation for an instant tinged the pale and beautiful countenance of Mariamne; but neither by word or look did she reprove the artifice of her mother, as base as it was unavailing. With the same intrepidity that she had lived, the noble and pious heiress of the Maccabees died; but with her died the happiness and peace of mind of her blood-thirsty but most miserable husband. (29 B. C. E.)

History offers many instances of queens, who, though innocent and high-minded, have become victims to jealousy, calumny, and intrigue; but none of these illustrious unfortunates is so truly a heroine as the Asmonean princess—no situation is so tragical as hers. Voltaire perceived the grandeur of his subject, when, in his preface to his tragedy, "Mariamne," he says: "Behold a king whom mankind designate as 'the great,' in love with the most beautiful woman upon earth; behold the conflict of passions in this king, so celebrated for his talents and his crimes; his former cruelties and his actual remorse; the continual and sudden transition from love to hatred, from hatred to love; the ambition of his sister Salomé, and the intrigues of his courtiers; and, in the midst of all, the anguish of a princess whose virtue and beauty still command the admiration of mankind, who had seen her sire and her brother put to death by her husband, and who, to complete her mis-

fortunes, sees herself adored by the destroyer of her family! What a subject! What a field for a higher genius than my own!"

It is a pity that Voltaire, who so truly appreciates the lofty character of the situation, knew so little how to do it justice, when he degrades the mission of retribution which animates, and almost sanctifies, Mariamne, to the level of an ordinary intrigue of love and jealousy. But then Voltaire was a Gaul, and belonged to the age of Louis XV.; and the writer who is to do justice to the tragedy of "Mariamne" must be guided by principles very different from those of Voltaire.

Herod's rage was quenched in the blood of his innocent queen; but his love broke out all the more fiercely, while unceasing remorse rendered life a burden to him. In vain he tried to forget her; in vain he tried, by magnificent feasts or continual attention to business, to stifle the voice of conscience, or to calm his troubled mind. In the midst of pleasure, as of business, the image of Mariamne still haunted him, and left him no rest.

A pestilence, which broke out the year after her death and swept away thousands of people, added a fresh load to his misery, because public opinion proclaimed it a judgment upon the king for all the blood he had shed, and especially for that of his injured queen. His mind was affected by his remorse even to aberration; for hours he would carry on an imaginary conversation with her, and urge his plea of love; frequently he called her aloud, or ordered his attendants to summon her into his presence. At length his body yielded to the sufferings of his mind, and Herod long laid in a hopeless state at Samaria. Eventually he rallied and recovered; but though, thanks to the strength of his constitution, he recovered his bodily health, he never could regain his peace of mind. A sour, suspicious disposition distorted his views of men and things,

and hurried him into the perpetration of cruelties that rendered him the scourge of his own family, and aggravated his misery.

Alexandra, whose restless ambition had prompted her to take advantage of Herod's illness, was one of his first victims. The sons of Baba ben Buta, a collateral branch of the proscribed Asmoneans, whose father had, by Herod's order, been deprived of his eyesight, had been protected and sheltered by Costobares, an Idumean, the husband of Salomé. But this wicked woman, who wished to get rid of her second husband, as she had destroyed the first, informed Herod of the facts, and soon had the satisfaction to witness the death of her husband as well as of the unhappy sons of Baba. Dositheus, who had been Herod's instrument to destroy old Hyrcanus, and some others of the king's confidential officers, were likewise put to death on the denunciation of Salomé.

After the recovery of his health, Herod married a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon ben Boethus, a cohen or priest of Alexandria, whom he raised to the dignity of high-priest, an office which Herod was systematically intent of depriving of all political weight and influence in affairs of state. As a principal means of effecting this, Herod hit upon the device of conferring the office "during the king's pleasure," which enabled him frequently to remove the functionaries, and to appoint such of his own creatures as would be content to submit to any conditions the king might choose to dictate. After Ananel, of Babylon, who, on the death of Aristobulus III., resumed his office, the king appointed Joshua ben Fabi—though there seems to have been a vacancy between the two. And this Joshua the king now removed to make room for the father of the beautiful woman who became his wife, and in whose society he, for a time at least, found rest from the gnawing pangs of remorse. As a homage to her, he shortly after

his nuptials built a magnificent palace on a spot where he had formerly repulsed the Antigonians under Pacorus, the cup-bearer. His courtiers and friends built mansions near him; the principal citizens of Jerusalem, attracted by the beauty of the locality, followed their example. The necessary population of mechanics and tradesmen was soon attracted, and thus, in a brief space of time, sprung up the flourishing city of Herodion, seven miles from Jerusalem.

Four years after the battle of Actium, (27 B. C. E.,) the senate of Rome conferred on Octavius Cæsar the title or designation of *Augustus*, "sacred," "venerable," "divine." That revolution in the polity of Rome which had turned the patrician republic into an absolute empire, pointed out the expediency of a new religious dogma—the divinity of the Emperor. The first idea of this deification Augustus brought with him from Egypt. The ancient Pharaohs had all been worshipped as gods; and the greater portion of the Egyptian monuments, with their famous hieroglyphic inscriptions, only served to attest the godhead and to express the magnificent and divine attributes of these sovereigns. The political sagacity of Augustus appreciated the advantage of working on the minds of the multitude by directing their attention and worship to that most potent dynasty founded by Julius Cæsar, which not only held the highest rank among men, but whose supreme and irresistible power made its chief a god on earth. Accordingly, the emperor constituted himself vicar-general of the gods of Olmypus and of the Capitol; he was at once their supreme pontiff and their representative, partaking of their nature. Augustus adored the gods; but Rome and all its wide-spread dominions were bound to adore Augustus.

In every part of the empire temples arose consecrated to the worship of the new man-god; and among the reproaches which Tacitus has recorded against Octavius Cæsar Augustus, the one that "he sought to deprive the gods

of their honours, and that he caused himself to be worshipped in temples, and by the ministry of *flamines* and priests," (Annal., lib. i. § xi.) is assuredly not the least. Among the many temples raised to the new god, Strabo (lib. iv. p. 292) especially mentions the one at Bibracte, an ancient city situated at the confluence of the rivers Rhone and Saone, in Gaul, (France,) which thenceforth assumed the name of Augustodunum, still preserved in its abbreviation *Autun*. In this temple the images of sixty local gods, or city-deities, worshipped the supreme divinity of Augustus, and proclaimed the sway of the man-god even unto the shores of the ocean. (12 B. C. E.)

Among the foremost to second the adulation of the Roman senate, and to worship the all-powerful Augustus, was the king of Judea. As Herod had now totally extirpated the Asmoneans, and felt perfectly secure in the protection of Rome, he no longer scrupled to offend the Jews by showing that his religion was subservient to his policy. So that while in Jerusalem he professed to be a Jew, and to join in the declaration, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is ONE," beyond the confines of Judea he became a heathen, and ready to embrace any worship that would best maintain him in the good graces of his great Roman patron.

The ancient city of Samaria, which some thirty years before had been raised from its ruins and partly rebuilt by the Roman pro-consul Gabinius, had assumed the name of its restorer, and was called Gabiniana. It had, however, made but slow progress, and was in fact nothing more than a considerable village when Herod determined once more to restore its importance as a city, and to dedicate it to Augustus. Accordingly, the name was changed into *Sebaste*, the Greek translation of the word *Augustus;* so that in the heart of Herod's possessions we find the model of Augustodunum and of its temple eleven years before the

French city received that name. A vast and gorgeous marble structure, erected in the principal square or public place of Sebaste, was consecrated as a temple to Augustus, where his colossal statue was worshipped, and offerings were brought on his altar. The city itself was strongly fortified, and assigned as a residence to six thousand Greek and Syrian colonists, whom Herod invited and enriched with houses and lands. (23 B. C. E.)

Another similar colony Herod located at the place near the sea between Dora and Joppa, anciently called *Straton's Tower*, but where Herod built a seaport town, which, in honour of the reigning imperial family and its founder, he called Cesarea. Here the man-god was worshipped, represented by a colossal statue, fashioned after the model of the Olympian Jupiter; while at his side his divine spouse, Rome, had her statue after that of the Argivian Juno. These temples and statues, which plainly showed that Herod intended Cesarea for a heathen, not a Jewish city, subsequently led to disputes that eventuated in the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple.

These structures were raised beyond the confines of Judea proper, within which Herod did not venture to introduce the worship of idols. He, however, went as far as he dared; for, though he did not presume to interfere with the religion of the Jews, he attempted to effect a species of fusion between Jewish and Roman manners and civilization, and for that purpose he renewed the schemes and measures of the high-priest Jason, who, a century and a half earlier, had laboured to effect a Judeo-Grecian fusion. As Jason had erected a Greek gymnasium at Jerusalem, Herod built a magnificent theatre in that city and a spacious amphitheatre in the suburbs. He also instituted games in honour of Augustus, to be celebrated every fifth year. Whatever was most characteristic of Roman manners—gladiatorial conflicts, combats between wild beasts, and between

beasts and men—were introduced; and, in order to secure a large concourse of visitors, the games were proclaimed throughout Herod's kingdom as well as in neighbouring and distant countries. Gladiators, wrestlers, and musicians were invited from all parts of the world, and prizes of great value were to reward the victors. Everywhere Roman trophies and triumphal inscriptions in characters of gold and silver met the eye, and Herod exhausted all his magnificence on shows most distasteful to his people. Those cruel conflicts between men and beasts, which delighted the ferocious Roman, disgusted the God-fearing Jew, who condemned them as unlawful; and the trophies with which every public place was adorned were abominated as idolatrous images. A general outcry arose that the king had profaned the holy city, and that the setting up of such idols within its precincts was not to be endured. In order to silence the clamours of the people, Herod led some of the principal men among them to the trophies, and, causing the armour with which they were covered to be removed, convinced them that there was nothing beneath but a bare post. This produced a laugh, and calmed the extreme agitation of the people; but the amphitheatre, with its horrors, still remained to exasperate the public mind.

At length ten of the most zealous malcontents—one of whom was blind—formed a conspiracy to assassinate Herod as he entered the theatre. They had worked up their minds to that degree as to become perfectly indifferent to the result, fully convinced that even in case of failure their death would stimulate the people to a general rising against the tyrant. But the signal good fortune which attended Herod in his public life did not desert him. The conspiracy was betrayed. As the conspirators assembled, they were seized; daggers were found concealed under their garments; and, as they did not attempt to deny their design, they were put to death with many cruel tortures.

The people manifested their sympathy with the sufferers and their hatred of Herod in a manner not less ferocious than his own. They seized on the informer who had denounced the conspiracy, literally tore him to pieces, and threw his flesh to the dogs. This was an insult that exasperated Herod to the utmost, and roused all the fiend within him. By means of his spies he discovered that some women had expressed a knowledge of the perpetrators of the horrid act of vengeance. Herod immediately seized these women and subjected them to the rack until they disclosed the names of several of the ringleaders, all of whom were hurried off to instant death, *together with their innocent families.*

This crowning act of savage ferocity raised the public exasperation to the highest degree; and doubtless, had a proper leader presented himself, the whole of Judea would have risen in a general revolt. Herod fully expected and prepared to meet such a rising. He built new fortresses throughout the land to bridle the people, and strengthened those that already existed.

In addition to Sebaste and Cæsarea, he built Gaba, Heshbon, Antipatris, Cypron, Phasaelis, (the three last named after his father, mother, and eldest brother,) and other smaller towns, in most of which he planted colonies of foreign soldiers to hold the country in subjection. In his buildings and fortifications he "did more than the occasion required; for Herod was a man of taste, and had quite a passion for building and for improvements, so that in the course of his long reign the country assumed a greatly-improved appearance through the number of fine towns and magnificent public works and buildings which he erected. In this respect there had been no king like him since Solomon."—*Kitto, Palestine*, i. 733.

Building operations, so numerous and extensive, and all carried on at the same time, could not fail to drain Herod's

treasury in the same proportion as they gave employment to the superabundant labour of the country. But just as the exhaustion of his exchequer was on the point of circumscribing Herod's building enterprises, an awful calamity that visited the land compelled the king, for a time at least, altogether to suspend them. Judea was visited with a grievous drought, which brought on a famine, and that again led to a raging pestilence, as multitudes died for want of proper care and sustenance.

As the general distress was greatly augmented by the suspension of Herod's public works, the king, whose treasury was empty, did not hesitate to melt down all his plate, and to send it to Egypt, to be there sold, and the proceeds applied to the purchase of provisions, of which his famished and perishing subjects so greatly stood in need. And as the drought had likewise made great havoc among their cattle, especially among their flocks of sheep, so as to leave them little or no wool, Herod also took care to procure a supply of winter clothing. In these beneficent endeavours he was warmly assisted by his friend Petronius, the Roman prefect of Egypt, then, as in the days of Joseph, the great granary of Syria and of Palestine. This Roman officer was from all parts of Western Asia importuned for assistance; but the high favour in which Herod was known to stand with Augustus secured the king of Judea an immediate and ample supply. All that he received he caused, without loss of time, to be distributed among his subjects generally, in such manner, however, that the first preference was accorded to the Jews—an act of generosity that, for a time at least, reconciled them to their ruler. In order to confirm them in this good feeling, he even went so far as to remit one-third of their annual taxes, in order that they might all the sooner recover from the heavy losses inflicted on them by the drought. But as his desire to stand foremost in the good

graces of Augustus led Herod to acts of adulation which the Jews looked upon as idolatrous, their indignation was soon again aroused, and with greater virulence than ever.

Herod sent his two sons by Mariamne to Rome, that they might there be educated under the emperor's eye—an act highly offensive to the Jews, but so pleasing to Augustus that he assigned them apartments in his own palace; and while he added several provinces to the kingdom of Judea,[15] he also gave to Herod full power to appoint, at his own pleasure, one of his sons to succeed him. Subsequently Augustus visited Syria in person, where several enemies of Herod appeared before the emperor, accusing the king of Judea of many and heinous crimes. Augustus directed an investigation to be instituted, and summoned Herod before his tribunal; but before the day of trial the emperor so publicly and greatly manifested his favour and partiality to Herod, that the accusers, despairing of justice, and fearful of being handed over to Herod for punishment—as had happened to a former depu-

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[15] These provinces, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanites, situated between Libanus and Perea, beyond Jordan, formed a part of the principality of one Zenodorus, a tetrarch. The inhabitants, who lived chiefly in rocks and caverns, made frequent inroads into the adjoining provinces, plundering towns and villages. This Zenodorus permitted them to do with impunity, so that he became suspected of being leagued with the robbers, and of sharing their spoils. Augustus, therefore, ordered that these troublesome provinces should be given to Herod, who, with his usual vigour and success, soon ferretted out the plunderers, and cleared the country of them.

Zenodorus frequently, both at Rome and in Syria, headed deputations to accuse Herod of tyranny and oppression before the tribunal of Augustus. The emperor, however, repeatedly refused to hear Zenodorus; and eventually, when he did consent to investigate, he treated Zenodorus with such marked disfavour that the accuser and his friends were driven to commit suicide even before Herod's trial commenced, as related in the text.

tation of Gadarenes, who had accused him—committed suicide. This Augustus chose to construe into a convincing proof of Herod's innocence and merit, and, therefore, not only confirmed all his former grants, but also appointed him his procurator or representative in Syria, without whose knowledge and advice the Roman governors of that province were to do nothing of importance. And on Pheroras, the younger brother of Herod, the emperor graciously, and at the request of his friend, the king of Judea, bestowed a tetrarchy or principality beyond Jordan.

When Augustus left the East, Herod accompanied him to the seaport at which he embarked, and then, as an expression of his gratitude toward his great patron and benefactor, the king of Judea built, at Panias, (Banias,) near the source of the Jordan, a temple of white marble, which he dedicated to the man-god Augustus. As, from the position of this temple, the adjacent heathens began to worship Augustus as the tutelary god of the river, the Jews took offence, and their meetings and denunciations became extremely violent. Herod's liberal remission of taxes proved powerless to stem the torrent of public feeling. He was, therefore, obliged to issue an edict forbidding, under severest penalties, all public and private assemblies, whether on account of feasts or any other pretence.

This severe edict did but little good; for Herod's spies, whose wakeful eyes nothing could escape, soon brought him proof abundant that the meetings of the people continued secretly, and therefore all the more dangerously; and Herod himself, who often, in disguise, mixed among the populace, became convinced that some great act, on his part, of a decidedly religious character, could alone allay the ferment which his worship of Augustus had called forth. And he soon hit upon an expedient not only to remove the ill-will and apprehension of the actual

generation, but also to entitle him to the gratitude of posterity.

At the great annual festival of Passover, (19 B. C. E.,) Herod addressed the assembled multitudes of Israel, and, with his usual eloquence, dwelt on the goodness of God, who not only granted them peace, and whose blessing had amply compensated them for their losses by the drought, but who further secured to them a continuation of prosperity through the friendship of the great emperor of Rome. He then spoke of his own zeal for the religion of Israel, and called their attention to the condition and size of the temple, so greatly inferior to the sacred structure erected by Solomon; that this inferiority arose, not from want of zeal on the part of those who returned from Babylon and built the temple, but from want of means and ability on their part. But since he, by the grace of God, possessed both the zeal and the means, he declared his determination to rebuild the temple in all its pristine grandeur, as an offering of gratitude to the Lord God of Israel for the manifold blessings vouchsafed unto him and his kingdom, and as such acceptable to God and to the people.

The assembly was taken by surprise and greatly startled. All recognised the grandeur of the offer, the importance of the undertaking, and the need and benefit of its being carried out. But they had no confidence in Herod's professions of zeal; the difficulty and expensiveness of such a work, and the length of time it would require, alarmed them; and the apprehension became general, that after the king had taken down the old temple he might prove unable—some whispered *unwilling*—to build the new one. To calm their fears, and to remove their objections, Herod solemnly promised that he would not begin to demolish the old temple until *all* the materials required for the new one were prepared and collected together on the spot; and on

this condition his offer was accepted with as much satisfaction as the Jews were capable of deriving from any act of the Idumean usurper.

The Talmud (*tr. Baba bathra*, fo. 3, B.) ascribes the rebuilding of the temple to Herod's remorse. That, incessantly tormented by the pangs of conscience, Herod had applied to the sole survivor of the Asmonean collaterals, Baba, the son of Butah, an aged man, whom he himself had deprived of his eyesight, and whose sons he had put to death. This aged and pious senator the king consulted as to the possibility of expiating his guilt in shedding the blood of the entire Sanhedrin, and of so many priests of the Lord. "As thou hast quenched the light of the world by putting to death the teachers and expounders of the holy law, be active and advance the light of the world by restoring the holy temple!" was the reply. But, whatever was the motive which induced him to build, Herod faithfully kept his promise to the people. Two years were devoted to preparations; ten thousand artificers, under the direction of one thousand priests, were taken into the king's pay; one thousand carts were employed in the carrying of the materials; and when every thing was ready, the old edifice began to be taken down, and the new one to be raised with equal celerity. The holy place, properly so called, was finished in a year and a half; and the legend tells us that, in proof of the divine approval, during the whole of this period no rain fell by day to interrupt the work, but only at night. It took eight years so far to complete the structure as to fit it for divine worship for Jews and Gentiles; but the building was carried on for many years, both by Herod himself and long after his death; and shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem no less than eighteen thousand men were employed and at work on the temple.

The stones were white marble; each stone twenty-five

cubits long, twelve cubits high, and nine cubits broad, all wrought and polished with exquisite beauty. The temple, or holy place, was but sixty cubits in breadth; but a wing on each side projected twenty cubits more. The entrance to the holy place was through an open gateway (without doors) seventy cubits high, and twenty wide, so that the temple presented a facade of one hundred and twenty cubits. This was the loftiest part of the whole structure on the summit of the temple-mount, and was on all sides surrounded by a succession of piazzas or porticoes, and terraces, rising above each other, and enclosing a multitude of courts and buildings. The first of these enclosures, nearest the city, was surrounded by a strong and lofty wall of large stones well cemented; and on the side toward the temple had a piazza, supported by columns of such size that three men, with arms extended, could barely embrace one, which is equal to twenty-seven feet in circumference. Of these columns there were one hundred and sixty-two, supporting a flat cedar ceiling. No sculpture or painting interrupted its simple but uniform beauty. A flight of five wide marble steps led into the second enclosure, called the Aazarah, or "court of the Gentiles," because open to all visitors. Stately columns, equidistant, had inscriptions engraved on them, in Greek and in Latin, admonishing strangers, and such Jews as were not purified, (those, namely, who had contracted some defilement prohibited by the law,) against proceeding beyond the marble rails surrounding the court, under pain of death. The third enclosure, raised above the second by fourteen marble steps, formed the Aazarah, or court of the Hebrews, (Israelites,) which contained the altar of burnt-offering, parted off from the larger court by a low marble screen, which formed the court of the priests. A separate court, with distinct entrances, and divided from the men by a low wall or partition, was appropriated to the women; so that we

see the complete separation of the sexes, which is still kept up in the synagogue, dates from the temple.

The whole structure, with its terraces rising in succession, was visible at a great distance, and equally strong and splendid. Its white marble walls, in many places inlaid with gold, towering above the city, reflected the blinding rays of the sun, and, after sunset, gave to the mountain the appearance as if perpetual snow rested on its summit. And so solid was the masonry, that even yet, after a lapse of near two thousand years, and spite of the rage of man, that exerted every effort in order that not one stone should be left on the other, but all be thrown down, the whole of the foundation, and the basement of the temple, still remain entire and uninjured; while a portion of the western wall, erect, and attesting its strength, is visited by Jewish pilgrims from every part of the world, whose streaming eyes are raised to Heaven with prayers for Israel's restoration.

The inauguration of this temple was a solemnity at which the presence of his sons was deemed necessary by Herod; and in order to pay his respects to Augustus, and in person to thank him for his kindness to the two young princes, the king of Judea repaired to Rome. His reception by the emperor of Rome was very gracious, his entertainment most sumptuous, and the presents by which he evinced his gratitude, right royal. After a short stay at Rome, he returned with his two sons to Jerusalem, where, on their first appearance in public, they were received with the loudest acclamation by the people, who admired their majestic port and polite demeanour; for these two young men, and especially Alexander the elder, combined within themselves all the personal advantages of their gifted parents, the noble-looking Herod and the beauteous Mariamne, the first striking effects of which were still further heightened and improved by the excellent education they

received in Italy. Indeed, on their first return home, Herod's paternal pride, gratified by their appearance and accomplishments even beyond his expectations, rendered him more happy than for years he had been. Soon after their return he obtained for them suitable wives—Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, for the eldest, prince Alexander; and Berenice, the daughter of his sister Salomé, for the younger, Aristobulus. Herod now looked forward to long years of peace and happiness; but the seed his crimes, and those of his family, had sown, was sure to produce its bitter fruits; and the demon of domestic discord, which for a time had been laid in his family, began to rage with renewed fierceness.

The two young princes had not forgotten their mother's wrongs; her innocent blood called for justice; and her sons did not conceal their aversion for the authors of her death. Salomé and Pheroras, the brother and sister of Herod, became alarmed at the bitter feelings their two nephews evinced, and in self-defence made common cause against them. The old feud between the Asmoneans and the house of Antipater once more revived; and while the young princes, strong in their innocence, uttered many an imprudent speech, and sometimes committed incautious acts, their enemies, practised and experienced in the school of intrigue, knew how to extract venom and accusations even from the most harmless words and gestures. Salomé abused her influence over her daughter Berenice, so that the most secret thoughts of Aristobulus, which in the confidence of connubial privacy he communicated to his wife, were by her betrayed to his bitterest enemies; and the sons of Mariamne were accused of implacable hatred of their father as the murderer of their mother, and of a conspiracy to hasten his death and to seize upon his crown.

Herod, by nature and a long course of crime, was prone to be suspicious. The long illness that afflicted him after

the death of Mariamne had not only affected his mind, but had left behind the germs of a slow, but incurable disease, which, continually threatening his days, rendered his disposition gloomy, and liable to violent irritation at the least excitement. When he was informed that his sons had declared that, as soon as he was dead, they would sweep all the "Idumeans" out of the palace, that they would compel Salomé to spin for her living, and reduce Herod's sons, by other wives, to the condition of village scribes, his indignation was aroused. (Joseph. Bell Judaic, lib. i. cap. 24.) When he was reminded of the popular affection for the late dynasty, and that the people called the sons of Mariamne the Asmonean princes, he became alarmed for his own safety. Salomé was at hand to take advantage of his irritation and fears, and she soon induced him to adopt measures hostile to the objects of his fear, and of her hatred.

Before his marriage with Mariamne, Herod had espoused a young woman of humbler birth, named Doris or Dosithea, by whom he had a son, Antipater. This wife of his young affections Herod had divorced previous to his royal espousal of Mariamne, and Doris, with her son, had lived in great retirement. After the execution of his queen he had, as we have already related, married a second Mariamne, by whom he had a son named like himself. This second Mariamne did not long preserve an undivided ascendancy over his affections, and availing himself largely of the privilege of polygamy, he married seven more wives, by whom he had a numerous family of sons and daughters. But as all these were yet in their childhood, Salomé prevailed on Herod to recall Doris and her son Antipater.

This young man was worthy of the name he bore—supple, selfish, astute like his paternal grandfather, not his equal in point of talent or courage, though to the full as unscrupulous and destitute of good principles. In him Salomé obtained a powerful ally, who made it his chief study to in-

gratiate himself with his father and indirectly to ruin his brothers, though he himself took care never to speak a word against them. Herod, as if to atone for the neglect with which he had so long treated his eldest son, now began to overwhelm him with favours and marks of distinction. He sent him to Rome to be presented to Augustus by Agrippa, and caused him everywhere to be spoken of as his successor. This conduct of Herod's had the effect on the sons of Mariamne which Salomé intended it to produce. The expressions of their resentment became more imprudent, their complaints more loud, and in their behaviour to their father they showed but little affection or tenderness. And as Antipater also—fearful lest, during his absence in Rome, they should supplant him and regain the favour of their father—in his letters and by means of his agents in Jerusalem, brought heavy charges against them, Herod at length became so exasperated that he directed his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, to accompany him to Rome, that their conduct might be investigated by Augustus himself. (13 B. C. E.)

The king of Judea and his sons found the emperor at Aquileia, and on being admitted to an audience, Herod vehemently accused his sons as parricides in intention and guilty of high treason. His language was so strong and pathetic as greatly to move all persons present, and to draw from his sons a flood of tears. When he had exhausted his list of grievances, Alexander began to plead his own and his brother's cause with such becoming modesty and such truthful simplicity, as convinced the emperor and his council of the innocence of the two princes. Augustus, taking upon himself the office of peace-maker, gently reproached Herod for his too rash belief in the criminality of his sons, and exhorted the young men to honour their father and love their brothers and sisters, to which they replied with tears and protestations of duty and affection.

Herod at length was prevailed upon to embrace his sons, and he returned with them to Jerusalem, to all appearance perfectly reconciled.

But Herod was too jealous, the young princess too indiscreet, Salomé and Antipater too cunning and too indefatigable, to permit this peace long to continue. As Herod could not bring himself to repose full confidence in any one of his elder sons, he devised a plan of succession by which he intended the son of Doris and the sons of Mariamne to be mutual checks upon each other. With the consent of Augustus, Herod declared, in an assembly of the people, that he designed his three eldest sons to succeed him in the order of their birth:—first, Antipater, then Alexander, and lastly Aristobulus. But this was an arrangement which satisfied no one. Antipater was discontented at having a barren sceptre placed in his hand, no son of his succeeding. The sons of Mariamne, born in the purple, were indignant that they, the offspring of a royal mother, should, even for a time, be set aside for the child of a low-born plebeian. The mass of the people preferred the sons of Mariamne as the sole surviving representatives of a venerated royal and sacerdotal line; and the two princes insensibly came to be regarded as the heads of the Asmonean party, which, notwithstanding all Herod's proscriptions, was still sufficiently powerful in the country to be an object of dread to him and to all who derived their claims to royalty solely from him. (11 B. C. E.)

While thus suspicion and wild intrigue were busy to make the most of the materials furnished by youthful indiscretion, Herod's great work at Cesarea was completed. Here he had made the safest and most convenient port to be found on all the coast of Phœnicia and Palestine, by running out a vast semicircular mole, or breakwater, of great depth and extent, into the sea, so as to form a spacious and secure harbour against the stormy winds from

the south and west. This great enterprise, which gives us some idea of the largeness of Herod's views, he inaugurated, when finished, with the utmost pomp and splendour, and appointed games to be performed in it with great solemnity every fifth year. The Empress Livia, the wife of Augustus—whom Josephus always calls Julia—was so pleased with Herod's liberality and devotion to her dynasty, that she contributed five hundred talents (half a million of dollars) out of her own coffers to maintain the splendour of these sports. And Augustus himself—who was not displeased at tributary kings spending their wealth in deifying the Cæsars—was heard to remark, "that Herod's soul was too great for his kingdom, and that he deserved to be king of all Syria and even of Egypt."

These words were repeated to Herod, and became a fresh stimulus to his ambition. Augustus had already bestowed upon him territories far more extensive than those which had been under the sway of the Asmonean kings of Judea; the emperor had made him a present of half the revenue of the rich mines in the isle of Cyprus, and had appointed him overseer of the other half; moreover, Augustus had nominated him procurator of Syria, without whose consent nothing of importance was to be undertaken in that province. And if Augustus deemed him worthy of such an extension of confidence and power, who could prevent the son of Antipater from being seated on the throne of the Selucidæ? All that was needful was to confirm Augustus in his favourable intentions; and to attain this great object Herod spared no expense. To obtain the good word of Romans, Greeks, and Syro-Greeks, Herod exhausted the wealth of Judea. When in Jerusalem he raised a strong and splendid fortified palace—on the site of the original fortress of Jebus, and of the once formidable heathen castle of Acra—in the Grecian style of architecture, he called the two most sumptuous apartments

in it Cesareum in honour of Augustus, and Agrippeum in honour of Agrippa, the emperor's favourite and son-in-law.

His liberality out of Judea was boundless. At his expense the cities of Ptolemais, of Damascus, and of Tripolis, each obtained a costly gymnasium for the training of their youth; Berytus and Tyre, each a forum, a temple and vast granaries; Ascalon, public baths and porticos; Sidon, a theatre; and Laodicea, an aqueduct. He caused ramparts to be erected at Byblos, and the great public square of Antioch to be paved with marble and to be enclosed within porticos, where the people could walk sheltered against sun and rain. His largess enabled the Rhodians to repair their temple of Apollo, and to refit their ships; nay, the king of Judea went so far as to grant a large sum of money to keep up the splendour of the Olympian games.

Wherever his unexpected and undeserved bounty raised its costly monuments, Romans and Greeks, Europeans and Asiatics, extolled Herod's munificence, and could not comprehend how any people should be so unreasonable, so perverse, so rude and obstinate, as to treat so excellent a ruler with a rancour bordering on open rebellion, as the Jews did Herod. But the awful exactions through which Herod wrung from the industry of his people the means to gratify his ambitious generosity—exactions which fully justified the detestation of his people—were not known out of Judea.

His rapacity increased with his expenditure, and at length, after having extorted from the living all that under any pretence he could wrest from them, he invaded the sanctuary of the dead. We have already related how, at a moment of great public distress and danger, Jochanan Hyrcanus I. had been relieved by a sum of money found in the tombs of the ancient kings of Judah. Herod determined to try whether he likewise might there meet with those funds of which he so greatly stood in need. At-

tended by some trusty followers, Herod secretly at night visited the tombs. He found neither gold nor silver coin. A few rich vessels of curious workmanship, which he carried off, only served to whet his appetite, and, goaded on by his avarice, he ordered the coffins of the dead monarchs to be broken open. Josephus (Antiq. xvi. cap. 7) relates the legend, that as his followers were about to open the coffins of David and Solomon, flames of fire suddenly burst forth and destroyed two of his companions, while Herod and the others, terror-stricken, saved themselves by flight. The historian goes on to state that, so disturbed was the mind of Herod by this supernatural manifestation, in order to make some atonement for his sacrilege, he caused a pillar of white marble to be erected near the entrance of the Sepulchre, which the people, however, justly regarded more as a monument of, than as an expiation for, his guilt.

In the midst of all these schemes of ambition and of avarice, the war of intrigue which Salomé, Pheroras, and Antipater waged against the sons of Mariamne, was unceasingly carried on. At one time their machinations were so thoroughly exposed, that Herod banished his brother and sister from his court; and he himself undertook his last journey to Rome, to recall, in person, the many and grievous complaints he had there preferred against the sons of Mariamne. But all these groundless criminations and sudden reconciliations between father and sons injured Herod in the good opinion of the calm and even-tempered Augustus. And when, on his return from Rome, Herod had found it necessary, in order to suppress the inroads of Trachonitish robbers, to obtain redress sword in hand and to invade Arabia, the emperor felt so offended that, notwithstanding Herod had acted with the consent of the prefects of Syria, Augustus wrote to rebuke him with great asperity, telling him "that he had hitherto treated him as a friend, but that henceforth he should treat him

as a subject." Herod sent two embassies to explain matters; but Augustus refused to see either of them, and for a time Herod was forced to submit to all the ill effects of the emperor's disfavour.

The mind of Herod was greatly agitated by the loss of this friendship of nearly thirty years' standing, and which involved the ruin of all those ambitious schemes and hopes that had caused him such vast expense, and the sole foundation of which had been the favour and good opinion of Augustus. The king of Judea, ever prone to suspicion, and rendered doubly gloomy and mistrustful by his malady, which again was the more strongly excited by the dangerous position of his affairs, became a greater object of terror to his people and his court than he had ever been before. His frame of mind was taken advantage of by Salomé, who had contrived again to make her peace with Herod, and who now, backed by Antipater, charged the sons of Mariamne with conspiring to poison their father. Herod at once caused them to be thrown into prison, whence Alexander, exasperated at being continually exposed to the groundless suspicions and anger of his father, wrote to the king to confess that the accusation was true, that he himself was guilty, but that Salomè, Pheroras, and several of the king's confidential friends, were his accomplices. The ferocious Herod raged like a tiger unchained, and several of the tools of his tyranny became his victims, though he hesitated to lay hands on his brother and sister.

In the interim his third embassy to Rome had, by the dexterous management of his friend and historian Nicholas Damascenus, restored Herod to the good graces of Augustus, and obtained the emperor's permission to have the sons of Mariamne tried by a high court, assembled at Berytus, composed of Roman officers and other dignitaries of the East. Herod would not allow the two unfortunate princes to appear or to offer any defence; while he himself

accused them vehemently of the most heinous crimes. As the commissioners could not believe it possible that a father would lightly or falsely accuse his own sons, the two princes were declared guilty of high treason and sentenced to death; but the execution of the sentence was left to Herod's discretion. Salomé, however, had known, once before and under similar circumstances, how to goad Herod on to destroy the idol of his heart, Mariamne; and intrigues not altogether dissimilar, and which cost the lives of several leading men of Judea, induced the unfortunate king to have the sons of Mariamne privately put to death. (B. C. E. 6.)

As in the case of Mariamne, when too late, Herod bitterly repented of his cruelty; and as each of his unfortunate sons had left sons, he caused them to be carefully educated, and expressed his solicitude to have them prosperously settled in life. But Antipater, who had shrunk at no crime to remove the hated offspring of Mariamne, was determined that Herod should not raise his grandchildren into rival claimants of the throne; and as the old king lived too long for his impatience, he conspired with Pheroras to remove Herod by poison. In order not to be suspected, Antipater contrived to have himself sent to Rome to attend on Augustus, while Pheroras left Jerusalem on some pretence of offence taken, and swore never to return while Herod lived. Thus these two crafty principals took care to screen themselves, while their tools were at work for them. But as Salomé remained true to Herod, the death of Pheroras disconcerted their schemes, and eventually led to the discovery of the entire plot, proving the guilt of Antipater, and of the innocence of Herod's two unfortunate sons—the victims of false accusations.

This discovery deprived Herod of any feeling of humanity that yet might have dwelt in his breast. His wife, the second Mariamne, having been involved in the charge against

Antipater, though nothing was proved against her, was banished, her son Herod disinherited, and her father deposed from the high-priesthood. Doris was stripped of all her ornaments, and compelled to quit the court. Antipater was recalled from Rome, and no sooner arrived at Jerusalem than arrested, tried and convicted, before Q. Varus, the Roman governor of Syria, whom Herod had requested to preside as judge. His execution was only delayed until Augustus should confirm the sentence.

It is during this period, and immediately preceding Antipater's return from Rome, that the events related in the first two chapters of Matthew are placed by biblical historians. We are well aware of the fact that the authenticity of those two chapters has been denied, not by Jews only, but by Christians. (Vide Priestly's Early Opinions, &c., vol. i. to iv.) Macrobius, a writer of the fifth century, related the massacre of infants, ordered by Herod at Bethlehem, with the addition that Herod himself had a son there at nurse, who was slaughtered among the rest; and that upon this occasion, Augustus remarked, "that it was better to be Herod's hog than his son." (Saturn, lib. ii. c. 4.) But it seems probable that this bitter witticism of the emperor's, if ever it was uttered at all, applied to the fate of Antipater and of his two brothers, the sons of Mariamne. For at the age of seventy, worn out with disease, furious passions, and corroding cares, it is not probable that Herod was the father of an infant under two years old. Josephus —who is by no means sparing of details when any of Herod's enormities are to be related—says nothing at all about this affair at Bethlehem. We do not feel ourselves called upon to decide between the narrative of the Evangelist and the silence of the historian. Were any other man or monarch in question, the massacre of the innocents would appear perfectly incredible; but Herod's whole life was nothing else but a massacre of innocents, and he who

did not spare his own sons was not likely to show much mercy for the children of others.

The malady to which Herod so long had been a victim, now in his sixty-ninth year, broke out with such malevolent virulence, that while no hopes were left of his recovery, Josephus does not hesitate to designate the foul incurable diseases that tormented the king of Judea, "a judicial dispensation of Providence."[16] When the news of his hopeless condition spread among the people, two Pharisee teachers, of considerable eminence, instigated their pupils to pull down and destroy a golden eagle of large size and exquisite workmanship, which Herod, on becoming reconciled to Augustus, had placed over one of the gates of the temple. The tumult, thus excited, was soon suppressed, and the two teachers, with some forty of their disciples, were seized, and carried prisoners to Jericho, where Herod at that time had taken up his abode, and where—under pretence that the eagle had been dedicated to the Lord, and that, consequently, the prisoners who had destroyed it had been guilty of sacrilege—he ordered them to be burnt alive. At the same time he caused the heads of all the leading families in Judea to be thrown into prison.

The arrival of a courier from Rome brought Herod the expected authorization to proceed to extremities against Antipater. Herod, however, was just then so awfully tortured by his disease, that he attempted to commit suicide. This he was prevented from doing; but the attempt had caused such affliction among his young children, that nothing

[16] His disease, as cruel as it is rare, was the *phtiriasis*, which also caused the death of Sylla, the dictator, and Philip II. King of Spain, tyrants like Herod, steeped in human blood like him, and victims like him, of a malady in which the whole human body becomes covered with sores that belch forth countless swarms of the most loathsome vermin, until the sufferer is literally eaten up alive by the tormenting insect, (the pediculus.) See "*Maladies de la peau par Alibert*, 1806"

but weeping and lamentation was heard throughout the palace. Antipater in his prison heard the wailing sounds, knew what they meant, and offered his guard a large bribe to permit him to escape. But so universally detested was he as the destroyer of his brothers, that the guard not only disdainfully rejected his offer, but caused it to be reported to Herod, with the addition that the tidings of his father's death had filled Antipater with extravagant joy. When the old tyrant heard this he was seized with such uncontrollable rage that he sent one of his body-guards to the prison, with orders to put Antipater to death, which was instantly done.

Five days after the execution of his eldest son, Herod was summoned before the dread tribunal of the Supreme Judge. His last act was in keeping with his whole life. Summoning his sister Salomé and her husband Alexis to his bedside, he made them swear most solemnly that they would obey his last dying command. He then told them that he knew the Jews would rejoice at his death, but he was determined that they should mourn; that for this purpose he had thrown all the leading men of Judea into prison; and his last command was that the instant he was dead, Salomé should cause all these prisoners to be slaughtered; "and then," said he, "the mourning through the land will be general."

With this diabolical injunction Herod breathed his last, in the seventieth year of his age, after a reign of thirty-seven years, during which, as a monarch, he had been invariably successful, while in all the relations of private life he had—and that by his own fault—been the most miserable of men. His contemporaries called him "the great," and posterity has not deprived him of the distinction. For if success, daring, ability, and munificence, constitute a right to be called "great," then Herod is fully entitled to the designation; but if cruelty, avarice, lust, duplicity, and mis-

trust, all in the highest degree and combined together, render a man infamous, then few men that ever lived were more truly infamous than Herod.

By his *final* will Herod divided between three of his sons the territories under his sway. The principal portion, consisting of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, producing an annual revenue of six hundred talents, (about six hundred thousand dollars,) with the title of king, he bequeathed to Archelaus, the eldest of his sons surviving and not disinherited. Antipas, he appointed Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, yielding two hundred talents (two hundred thousand dollars) of annual income; and to Philip, with a similar title, he bequeathed the districts of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Batanea, and Paneas, producing one hundred talents annually, (one hundred thousand dollars.) To his sister Salomé he left a large sum in money and the three cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis. To each of his other relations considerable legacies. To Augustus and his wife Livia large sums of money were bequeathed, and, as a last act of homage to the emperor, Herod sent him his sealring, which he had used to authenticate his public acts, and closed his will with the proviso that his testamentary dispositions should be of no force or validity until confirmed by Augustus.

His last command to Salomé that princess had neither the courage nor the cruelty to carry out; on the contrary, as soon as Herod was dead, but before his demise was made public, she ordered the doors of the Hippodrome—where his intended victims were confined—to be thrown open, and informed the captives that the king commanded each of them immediately to return home, as he had no further occasion for their presence—a command which they at once gladly hastened to obey. The death of the king and his last will were then made public; and as the emperor's confirmation was taken for granted, Archelaus was

then and there hailed as king. The funeral of Herod was then performed with great splendour, and his remains deposited at his favourite castle of *Herodion*, as he had directed.

Herod's motive for dividing his territories—an act without precedent either under the ancient kings of Judah or the Asmoneans—was the fear, which subsequent events proved to be well founded, that Augustus would not permit lands so considerable and wealthy to remain united in one hand, and might be tempted to seize upon the whole. The emperor, however, who had always professed to be the friend of Herod, after some delay, confirmed his testamentary dispositions, with the single exception that he refused to accept the legacy of fifteen hundred talents which Herod had left him, but which he distributed among the heirs; nor would he grant any higher title than that of ethnarch, or prince, to Archelaus, until he should show himself worthy to be a king. This he never did; but the Jews, who had acknowledged him as king, and who were accustomed so to style their rulers, continued to give him the regal title.

After the funeral of his father, Archelaus returned to Jerusalem, and, having completed the customary seven days of close mourning, he began his reign by giving the people a magnificent banquet. He then, arrayed in white garments, went to the temple, and taking his seat on his father's throne, in a prepared oration, thanked them for their zeal and promised them that his chief study should be to render his reign more easy and happy than his father's had been. To confirm his promise he granted whatever petitions in that propitious hour were presented to him. But the hatred which the Jews had so long nursed and pent up against Herod was not to be overcome by a few smooth words or gracious acts of his son.

Scarcely had the cheers ceased with which his promises were received, when a procession in mourning advanced to

demand that justice should be done to the families of those pious men who had been put to a cruel death for destroying the golden eagle. Archelaus sent one of his principal officers to order the procession to disperse. The command was answered by a volley of stones. The new king was loth to stain the first days of his reign with bloodshed, and sent repeated messengers to remonstrate with the rioters, but in vain. In the meantime the festival of Passover brought the rural population in vast numbers to Jerusalem, many of whom joined in the clamorous cries for justice raised by the original malcontents; and the tumult became so threatening that Archelaus was induced to send some of his guards to disperse the mob, which, however, stood at bay, attacked and killed most of the soldiers, while the officer in command was dangerously wounded, and, together with the other survivors of the onslaught, had the utmost difficulty to escape with life. This popular outbreak, and open defiance of the king and his authority, called for instant suppression, and Archelaus promptly sent the royal guard and all his mercenaries aganist the rioters. After an obstinate conflict between the populace and the soldiery, the latter prevailed, and the tumult was put down; but three thousand of the people had been killed, and Archelaus, by proclamation, compelled all non-residents to quit Jerusalem without delay, so that the Paschal solemnities for that year were abruptly closed.

After these rigid measures, Archelaus departed for Rome, where the entire family of Herod—to whom the last will of that monarch was become the apple of discord—was assembled, and the preference given to Archelaus was strongly contested by Herod's son Antipas. But there also appeared a deputation from the leading pontifical and senatorial families of Judea, who sought to take advantage of the disputes that divided the Herodian family to get rid of this detested dynasty, and to obtain the incorporation

of Judea with the Roman empire. Their application was, for the present, rejected. Herod's will was confirmed, and Archelaus—though only as ethnarch—returned to Jerusalem and resumed the government. During his absence Judea had been in a continual state of confusion and bloodshed, caused partly by the rapacity of Sabinus, the Roman intendant of Syria, which provoked a fearful outburst of popular indignation at Jerusalem—and partly by the general detestation in which Herod and all his family were held by the people, and which, in the absence at Rome of all the members of that family, led to desperate attempts to throw off their yoke.

Several pretenders to royalty started up in different parts of the country, and found supporters. Among these, the most considerable was Judah, the son of Hezekiah, the chief whose execution, without trial or condemnation, had been one of the first acts of Herod's public life. This Judah—supposed to be the Theudas mentioned in Acts v. 36—seized on some of the royal arsenals, and, having fully armed his adherents, carried on a regular war against the royalists and the Romans. Tacitus (Histor., lib. v. § 9) mentions one Simon, an ex-officer of the late king, who assumed the royal dignity in Jericho; and Josephus speaks of a shepherd, Athronges, whose claims to royalty were founded on his gigantic size and strength, and who inflicted great loss on the Romans. He also speaks of two thousand veterans who had served under Herod, but were discharged by Archelaus, and who now lent powerful assistance to the insurgents in the south of Judea. (Antiq., lib. xvii. c. 10.)

Varus, at that time Roman governor of Syria—the same who subsequently was defeated by Hermann or Arminius in the forests of Germany, a defeat which secured the independence of the warlike Germans, and wrung from the grief-stricken Augustus the exclamation: "Varus, give me

back my legions"—was compelled to hasten to Judea, to rescue Sabinus, who was besieged by a mob in the palace of the Asmoneans, in Jerusalem, and to encounter in the field the mushroom aspirants to royalty, whom, one after the other, he attacked and overthrew. This it was easy for him to do, since the leaders and their bands of followers remained isolated, and even at enmity, so that Varus, who might have been destroyed had their forces united, remained much superior to each of them singly.

On his return to Jerusalem, Archelaus attempted to govern on the same system as his father. The same heavy amount of taxation ground down the people; the same yoke of despotism crushed the higher classes; the same irresponsible tyranny shed the blood of every one who gave umbrage to the king. Archelaus even went so far as to marry Glaphyra, the widow of his brother Alexander III., the murdered son of the murdered Asmonean Mariamne. This marriage was one with a deceased brother's wife, within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, and only permitted where the deceased had left no children. But as Alexander had left two sons, the marriage of his widow with his brother, King Archelaus, was detested by the people as a heinous sin against the law of God, and a grievous insult to the memory of the dead.

In their detestation of the king, and their strong attachment to the Asmonean princes, the people—to whose recollection this action on the part of Archelaus had served strongly to recall their former favourites, the sons of Mariamne—with surprise and joy began to listen to a rumour which spread abroad that these beloved princes were not dead: that the unnatural cruelty of their father had been foiled by those to whom he had intrusted the execution of their sentence; that during the reign of Herod the two princes had remained concealed in a safe and impenetrable retreat, but that they were now about to emerge, to ap-

pear, and to reclaim their rights. Some even asserted that they had seen and spoken to Prince Alexander; and this, at least to the best of their knowledge, and as they believed, was no fiction.

A Jew, native of or educated in Sidon, bore so striking a resemblance, in features, person, voice, and carriage, to that unfortunate prince, as to deceive even his most intimate friends. A servant of Herod, perfectly initiated in all the secrets and intrigues of the latter half of his reign, thought that by means of this resemblance he himself might rise to importance and wealth; and finding the Sidonian apt at instruction, he supplied him with every necessary information, and so indoctrinated him that he was able to personate Alexander, with but little risk of detection. The whole circumstance strongly reminds one of the two sons of Edward IV., king of England, murdered in the Tower of London by their uncle, crookbacked Richard III., of the rumour of their escape, of the impostors who tried to personate them, and particularly of Perkin Warbeck, who was trained by the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy—a sister of Edward IV.—to personate the younger son, the Duke of York.

The pseudo-Alexander and his confident, not deeming themselves safe in the East, visited the isles of Greece, where the resident Jews received them with respectful affection and supplied them with considerable sums of money. Encouraged by this success, they even ventured to repair to Rome, where not only the Jews of that city, but numbers of Romans who had been intimate with the young princes during their sojourn in that metropolis, readily recognised the impostor as Alexander, and marvelled, even while they rejoiced, at his preservation. Augustus—who had known Herod too well to suppose that he would allow himself to be deceived in a matter of such vast importance as the death of his two sons—all along suspected an impo-

sition, and commissioned one of his attendants, who had formerly been the companion of the two Judean princes, to detect the impostor. But this officer—named Celarus—was as easily imposed on as all others; and having reported accordingly to the emperor, was ordered to bring the pretender into his presence.

The keen observation of Augustus, sharpened by suspicion, and stimulated by the ambition of detecting a deception impervious to every other eye, soon noticed that the hands of this new Alexander were not such as beseemed a prince so daintily reared as the son of Herod. They were coarse, and exhibited callosities—the proof of many years' hard labour—which no process of the toilet could remove. Still further to convince himself, Augustus entered into familiar conversation with his guest, asking him what was become of his brother, and why Aristobulus did not accompany him? The ready reply was that Aristobulus had remained at Cyprus to await the issue of this journey, so that if the one brother met any mishap the other might still survive to preserve the name and race of Asmoneans. In the course of this conversation, however, the emperor soon detected in the pretender a want of that purity of language and elegance of manners which characterized Prince Alexander, and were to be expected from a youth of intelligence, who, in the days of Virgil and Horace, had been educated under the care of Augustus. Unwilling to waste more time on so worthless an object, the emperor now took the young man aside, taxed him with his imposition, and, partly by threats, partly by the promise of sparing his life, succeeded in obtaining from him an ample confession. The tutor, who had been the first to plan the personation, was hanged, and the wretched impostor himself was sent to prison and hard labour for life. Those dupes who had backed the pretensions of the imposture by

advances of money, the emperor considered as sufficiently punished by their loss and disappointment.

But though Augustus had thus lent his assistance to secure Archelaus against a vagabond pretender, he could not, or rather he would not, any longer uphold the ruler of Judea against the complaints of his own people, for these complaints were both just and incessant. Herod had governed on a system very different from that of Augustus; for while the emperor, the father of his country, made it his chief care to blot the proscriptions of the triumvir from the memory of men, Herod began his reign with bloodshed, carried it on ferociously, and could scarcely be prevented by death from closing it with atrocity. But so long as he lived, Herod, by his energy and talents, was equal to the maintaining of that system of terror on which he leaned for support. Accordingly, the people respected even while they hated him; they acknowledged his abilities and dreaded his influence, even while they abhorred his person and detested his sway.

In the case of Archelaus, however, the violent indignation of the people was tempered or neutralized by no feelings of respect or even of fear. For though Archelaus dared to set public opinion at defiance at Jerusalem, he trembled at the displeasure of any Roman official—and the people knew it. Herod had been hated; Archelaus was both hated and despised. The leading families in the metropolis, who, from their prominence and proximity, were the most exposed to witness as well as to suffer from, the weakness and vices of their ruler, were unwearied in their efforts to get rid of a useless and most expensive pageant of royalty, that possessed not the slightest shadow of independence either at home or abroad. In Rome it licked the dust before the throne of Cæsar; in Jerusalem it was the obsequious slave of every emissary or delegate of Augustus. The vast expense of the court and establishment,

together with the pay of the numerous mercenaries, impoverished Judea for the maintenance of an authority the people detested, and which, all-powerful through the support of the foreigner against its own people, was all-powerless to protect that people against the insolence and rapacity of foreign extortion. Accordingly the petitions of the Judeans that they might be freed from the tyranny of Archelaus, and governed by the paternal power of Augustus himself, were numerous and continuous; and at length they were granted.

Archelaus was summoned to Rome to defend himself; and so little had he expected to be interfered with, that the messenger of Augustus found him absorbed in the pleasures of a great banquet. The complaints against him were investigated, probably with the predetermination to find him guilty. He was convicted of misgovernment, his sovereignty was declared forfeited, his property confiscated, and his person banished to Vienne, in modern France, whence he never returned. Judea was incorporated into the Roman province of Syria; but as this had been done at the request of the Judeans and in order to improve their condition, the imperial decree of annexation secured to the Judeans the right of being governed within their own land by their own laws. What Rome considered as most important in the countries subject to her sway, was the exclusive possession of all military force, and the absolute disposal of the public property and revenue. So long as its sovereignty in these, its two principal features, remained undisputed, that is to say, so long as Rome could at its pleasure extort the last dollar and the last able-bodied man from every country dependent on her, the minor points (for so the emperors generally considered them) of religion, manners, laws, prejudices, and internal government, were treated with much indulgence, though the tyranny of nation over nation continued in full force. Not only every

Roman official, but every Roman, however low his degree and abject his position, looked upon himself and exacted the acknowledgment that he was, intrinsically and inalienably, superior to the most eminent provincial, whose property was only held in trust to satisfy the exactions and exigencies of his Roman dominators.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Judea a Roman province governed by a procurator—State of parties and sects—The association of Zealots: their principles—The four first procurators: traffic with the high-priestly office—Pontius Pilate: his oppressive administration—Christianity—Condition of the Jews in Rome—Pilate disgraced—Caligula emperor: orders his statue to be worshipped in the temple of Jerusalem: the Jews refuse to obey—Herod Agrippa: his singular changes of fortune; his high favour with Caligula: his visit to Alexandria—Riots and massacre of Jews throughout Egypt—Philo the Jew: his mission to Caligula—Death of the Emperor—H. Agrippa active in raising Claudius to the imperial throne—The kingdom of Judea re-established in favour of Agrippa: his short reign and death: Judea again a Roman province—The seven last procurators: their rapacity—Claudius succeeded by Nero—Famine in Judea—Conversion to Judaism of Isates King of Adiebene and his family—Disturbances in Judea: brutality of the Roman soldiery: exasperation of the people: influence of the Zealots: the Sicarri—War with the Parthians—Jews disfranchied at Cesarea: riots in Jerusalem provoked by Gessius Florus, the last procurator: the people overpower and slaughter the Roman garrison—Cestius Gallus and the Romans repulsed with great loss: retreat from Judea—General rising of the Judeans: War of Independence—Ananus president of the general council—Josephus governor of Galilee—Flavius Vespasian and his son Titus invade Galilee: siege and capture of Jotapatha—Josephus submits to the Romans—Their successful campaign and atrocities in Galilee—Civil war in Jerusalem; triumph of the Zealots—Civil war in Rome: rapid succession of emperors; election and final triumph of Vespasian—His son Titus lays siege to Jerusalem: obstinate defence: destruction of the temple and city—Total conquest and devastation of Judea: wretched condition of the Jewish people.—From the year 6 till 70 C. E.

The artful system under which Augustus governed, and which consisted in disguising or concealing his imperial

despotism by upholding the forms of the Roman republic, left to the senate a semblance of its former authority and influence, without any real power. In accordance with this system, all the provinces of the empire were divided into imperial, governed by Augustus directly, and senatorial, governed by the senate under the supreme authority of the emperor. All the frontier provinces, which required military protection, were imperial. Syria was a frontier province; and as Judea was incorporated with Syria, it became burdened with all the grievous weight of military exactions, free quarters, and a licentious soldiery. The internal administration was left in the hands of the great Sanhedrin, at whose side stood a Roman officer by the title of procurator, whose duty it was to watch over the internal peace of the province, to collect the taxes, and who, under the control of the pro-consul of Syria, was to represent the supremacy of Rome.

In the imperial provinces, the pro-consul was the immediate representative of Augustus, and his powers were not unlike those of a Turkish pacha, in the most despotic times. Though he administered justice and was chief of the civil government, the spirit of his office and functions was essentially military, and he acknowledged no superior but the emperor. The powers of the procurator were far more limited, as in reality he was nothing more than a treasury-agent. But the besetting sin of the Roman system of provincial administration was that the native population of conquered provinces never ceased to remain objects of distrust to Rome; and this circumstance enabled any Roman official, however limited his lawful powers might be, to become *de facto* an unrestricted dictator. The slightest apprehension of public disturbance, the merest pretext of resistance to the collection of taxes, which any provincial procurator chose to feign or to create, authorized him to employ an armed force; and when once the soldiers

were let loose, their commander became the unrestrained master of the lives and property of the unfortunate provincials. Hence it became the private and personal interest of every commander that the province in which he bore sway should be not at peace, but disturbed, so as to entitle him to wield the discretionary power of the sword, in order to enrich himself and his followers. The only check to his rapacity arose from the personal character of the emperor, or from the dread of rivals, who, by denouncing his malversations at Rome, might supplant him in his office.

Thirteen such procurators administered the affairs of Judea during the sixty years that intervened between the period of her becoming a Roman province and the war of independence: and the career of these officials proves to what degree they were influenced by the character and conduct of the sovereigns they represented. Unfortunately for mankind and for Judea, these sovereigns were Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero—tyrants, madmen, fools, monsters, the most detestable the world had ever seen.

We have already stated that the internal administration, according to the old laws, was left in the hands of the Sanhedrin, so that something like a shadow of nationality was still permitted to exist. Its attendant was, unfortunately, the spirit of sectarianism, which had already been so fatal to Judea. During the reign of Herod, the Sadducees—identified with the house of Aristobulus II. and the last Asmonean—were oppressed and persecuted. With the fall of the Herod dynasty the Sadducees revived; indeed, it was chiefly owing to their incessant denunciations and complaints that Archelaus had been deprived of his kingdom.

The Pharisees, whose tenets Herod had professed to favour, had never been able to reconcile themselves to that Idumean, half-heathen usurper, with whom they had come

in collision on more occasions than one.[16] And though their antipathy to the Sadducees and their tenets remained as strong as ever, yet their hatred of the Herodians overcame their dislike of the Sadducees, with whom they joined hand and heart in getting rid of Archelaus. For the leaders of both parties, the chiefs of those great senatorial and sacerdotal families, to whom Augustus confided the internal administration, felt that, under the new arrangement, they would possess and enjoy a far greater degree of security and power than had fallen to their share under the Asmonean or Herodian[17] kings; and indifferent themselves to the dreams of patriotism, or to the phantom of national independence, they fully expected that the people were equally indifferent. But the very first act of the Roman administration in Judea was sufficient to dispel their illusion on this subject, and lighted the sparks of popular discontent, which eventually, fanned by Roman oppression,

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[16] Besides the disturbance caused by the destruction of the golden eagle, and which was the work of Pharisees, Herod, on two occasions, met with serious opposition from the leaders of that sect. The first was in the seventeenth year of his reign, (B. C. E. 20,) when, in consequence of the numerous secret conspiracies at work against him, he required the people to take an oath of fidelity to his person; an exaction that was so strenuously resisted by the Pharisees, who, on this occasion, were joined by the Essenes, that Herod was forced to renounce his design. The second was toward the end of his reign, (B. C. E. 5,) when Herod issued a decree that the Judeans should take an oath of fidelity to Augustus and himself. Seven thousand Pharisee heads of families refused obedience, as the decree was contrary to the law of Moses. (Deut. xvii. 15.) They were condemned to pay a heavy fine, which, however, the wife of Herod's brother, Pheroras, paid for them.

[17] This designation which we find several times in the historical books of the Christian scriptures, (Matthew ii. 16; Mark iii. 6; xii. 13,) does not designate a religious sect, but a political party, adherents of the Herodian family, and intent to restore the royalty of Judea in that dynasty, but subject to the supremacy of Rome.

exactions, and superciliousness, burst forth into a flame that devoured temple, city, and people.

In order to ascertain the exact capabilities of a province, the amount of its wealth and the number of its inhabitants, the Romans compelled every man to present himself and all the members of his family, or household, before the taxing officer, and at the same time to exhibit a minute and detailed description and account of his property. Now, the Jews considered the numbering or counting of the people as unlawful. The memory of the pestilence that had followed on the census taken in the reign of King David—and which was declared to have been the punishment of that sinful act—had ever since then always acted on the fears of the people, who now were ready to rise, as one man, to resist the numbering. Moreover, the Jews looked upon the compulsory disclosure of their private affairs and possessions as the worst badge of slavery, to which they never would submit. The eloquence and prudence of Joazar, the high-priest, however, assisted by the influence of the Sanhedrin, succeeded in preventing a general outbreak.

But the more ardent spirits among the Jews, those who were most averse to foreign domination and most fervent in religious enthusiasm, bade defiance to all the efforts of the pacific conservatives, and determined to fight out the quarrel between Judea and Rome. Under the guidance and direction of Judah of Galilee—whom we have already spoken of as a pretender to royalty and a son of that Hezekiah whose murder had been the first-fruit of Herod's public life—and of Zadock, a learned Pharisee, who possessed great influence over the minds of the common people, the malcontents formed a political association, which they designated as that of "the Zealots." Old Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, had used that word when, on his death-bed, he blessed and exhorted his sons, telling them,

"Be ye zealots for the law, and sacrifice your lives for it." The veneration in which his memory was held gave a degree of authority and even of sanctity to the word which he had used, and which, identifying his name with that of the new association, seemed to bestow his sanction on the purposes and principles of those who proclaimed themselves ready to carry out his dying injunction.

The members of the association were bound together by a fearful oath, and pledged themselves:—1. To acknowledge God as the sole king of the Jews and sovereign of their land. 2. Every temporal authority must be rejected, despised, and resisted. 3. All means are lawful that can be employed to destroy the usurped domination of Rome. 4. Every member of the association binds himself readily and cheerfully to lay down his own life, and to sacrifice the lives of all those who are dependent on him, in order to recover the liberty of the people, and to re-establish the supremacy of the Law of Moses. 5. No peace or truce shall ever be made with the Romans, or with those unworthy Jews who uphold the detestable domination of Rome. (Josephus, Antiq., lib. xviii. cap. 1.)

The first seat of this formidable association was Galilee, at that time governed by the tetrarch Herod Antipas, a son of Herod the Great. There, dwelling in caverns amidst inaccessible rocks, this band of outlaws, too feeble to wage open war against Rome, sought and found shelter. Thence, whenever a favourable opportunity offered, they sallied forth to plunder the possessions of Rome, and of the friends of Rome. Wherever the people felt aggrieved by Roman rapacity or oppression, the Zealots were ready to fan the excitement into riot, and to hurry on the furious multitude to havoc and slaughter. Indifferent to the loss of life, intent solely on keeping alive the spirit of nationality and of hatred to foreign domination, the association of the Zealots bade defiance to the power of Rome; and,

strong in the popular discontent, it grew with its growth, until thousands and tens of thousands were bound by the fearful oath of membership.

The first Roman procurators in Judea, Coponius, Marcus Ambivius, and Annius Ruffus, restrained by the vigilant eye of Augustus, governed with prudence and moderation. Tiberius, the successor of Augustus, though an execrable tyrant, was a man of ability and experience. However cruelly the rigour of his despotism afflicted Rome and the Senate, however astute and ferocious his conduct was to all whom he saw cause to suspect, he was too wise to permit or to sanction crimes from which he derived no advantage. The governors he appointed to command in the provinces knew that they were watched by the open eye of a severe master, whom no one could deceive; and until the rise of his infamous favourite and minister, Sejanus, the provinces had no particular cause to complain of oppression.

Tiberius, according to the testimony of Tacitus, (Annal., lib. i. § lxxx.,) was averse to the frequent change of officers in the provincial administrations. Suetonius (in Tib: § xxxii.) tells us that the emperor Tiberius used to instruct his lieutenants in the provinces to be like good shepherds, "who shear their sheep, but do not skin them." His motive for not frequently changing his officers is preserved by Josephus, who relates that Tiberius used to compare the provinces administered by Roman governors to a man that had been wounded and stunned, and on whose bleeding wound a swarm of flies had settled. "If," said the emperor, "these flies, who have sucked their fill, be driven away from the prostrate and defenceless body, they will infallibly be followed by a second swarm equally numerous, but far more greedy and tormenting, because impelled by hunger." Accordingly, during the twenty-three years that Tiberius reigned, not more than two procurators succeeded each

other in Judea. The first of these, Valerius Gratus, held office thirteen years, and the greatest eulogium on his administration is, that history records no popular outbreak in Judea while he remained at the head of affairs.

Gratus seems, indeed, to have directed his attention chiefly to the carrying on a lucrative traffic with the dignity of high-priest, which he bestowed and resumed without cause, and in apparently the most capricious manner, though in reality his own interest was the guide whom invariably he consulted. The precedent established by Herod, of conferring the high-priesthood during the king's pleasure, was likewise acted upon by Archelaus. And as the Roman procurators succeeded to the executive prerogatives of the Herodian kings, they soon discovered that the discretionary disposal of this high, lucrative, and much coveted office placed in their hands a means of quietly enriching themselves, while, at the same time, they secured the support and good word of the chief Jewish dignitary for the time being. This traffic at last grew so shameless that the Talmud relates how Martha, the daughter of Bœthos, gave King Agrippa II. two large measures full of golden *denars*, in order to procure the high-priesthood for her betrothed, Joshua ben Gamla.[18]

These removable high-priests of the last period of the second temple, the corruption by means of which they ob-

[18] Martha was a widow, and as such could not be lawfully espoused by the high-priest. (Levit. xxi. 14.) In the case of Joshua ben Gamla, however, his marriage with a widow—the first of the kind ever contracted by a high-priest—was held to be valid, as he had been betrothed to her previous to his appointment to the highest sacerdotal dignity. His predecessor in the office, Jeshuang ben Damnai, irritated at being supplanted by Martha's gold, refused, because of this marriage, to recognise the validity of Joshua's appointment. The consequence was, that a sort of civil war was for a time carried on within the streets of Jerusalem, by the retainers of the rival high-priests supported by hired bullies and ruffians, until the party of ben Gamla prevailed.

tained office, the cringing meanness and supple sycophancy to which they stooped in order to hold it, provoke the utmost indignation of the Talmud, which preserves several interesting anecdotes, respecting the eager competition with which rival candidates outbid each other. In one sweeping expression of condemnation (Yerushalmi tr. Yomah, fo. 1) the Talmud contrasts these pontiffs of the second temple with their predecessors in the first, or Solomon's temple, applying to them respectively the two halves of Proverbs x. 27: "The fear of the Lord prolongeth days." "These are the high-priests of the first temple, where the son invariably succeeded his father, and eighteen dignitaries only held office from the consecration to the destruction of the temple." "But the days of the wicked are shortened." "These are the high-priests of the second temple, in number above eighty,[19] of whom many did not hold office a whole year, because they bought the dignity for money."

The high-priestly robes and ornaments were deposited under locks and bolts in a fire-proof vault of the castle Antonia, garrisoned by the Romans. And seven days before each one of the great annual festivals, the procurator caused these precious insignia of office to be carried to that pontiff, whom he thereby invested with the dignity of high-priest. The period immediately preceding the investiture

[19] "This number of eighty seems somewhat exaggerated. For, deduction made of the fourteen pre-Asmonean high-priests, of whom only three were illegitimate, and of the nine Asmoneans who preserved the succession in its purity, there will remain fifty-seven for the century from the accession of Herod to the throne till the destruction of the temple. Nevertheless, this number given by the Talmud approximates nearer to the truth than that of twenty-eight given by Josephus, who, however, does not enter into particulars; and who, notwithstanding the endeavour to be very exact, leaves many an hiatus that plainly indicates a much greater number of functionaries than he gives."—*Frankel Monatsschrift*, December, 1852, p. 588.

was one of busy intrigue, in which rival candidates raised the price against each other. While one sent his son to the procurator with a large measure full of silver coin, another sent a similar measure full of gold pieces; and as the successful buyer knew on what terms he had obtained the dignity, and how brief his tenure was likely to prove, he lost no time in making the most of his purchase, appointing his sons and nephews to the various subordinate but very lucrative offices in the temple administration, and sending his servants and bondmen to scour the country, burst open the granaries, and forcibly take possession of the tithes, in the name of the high-priest.

Thus, the inferior priests were robbed of their income, and the land-owners were deprived of their right to bestow their tithes on any priest they chose. So unpopular did these practices render these high-priests, not only with the people, but even with the inferior priests, that the Talmud, embodying the traditions of public opinion, only mentions two of the high-priests in terms of praise. One of them was the Joshua ben Gamla of whom we have already spoken, and who exerted himself greatly in promoting education by establishing schools throughout the country. The second was Elisha ben Fabi, who stood up for the rights of the land-owners, and of the inferior priests, and by that means became so beloved that at his nomination the people chaunted the 7th verse of the 24th Psalm, with the variation, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, that Elisha ben Fabi may enter."

This, however, happened long after the removal of Gratus, the wholesale dealer in high-priesthoods, who, in fact, and notwithstanding the caprice and arbitrary selfishness with which he disposed of the office, seems to have introduced the practice of confining the choice within five principal sacerdotal families, probably those best able to pay. These were: 1, the house of Fabi; 2, the house of Bœthos;

3, the house of Kantheras; [20] 4, the house of Kamyth; and 5, the house of Anan, a member of which, according to Josephus, had not only in his own person held the office of high-priest for a considerable period, but also enjoyed the rare good fortune that his five sons, successively, were appointed to the same dignity.

The general characteristics of four of these houses, and the manner in which they administered the affairs of the temple, is briefly, but most strikingly, expressed in the Talmud, tr. Pesahhim, fol. 57: "Concerning them and the like of them," Abba Saul said, in the name of Joseph ben Chanin, "I am grieved at the house of Bœthos with its bludgeons; I am grieved at the house of Anan with its whispered denunciations; I am grieved at the house of Kantheras with its libels; I am grieved at the house of Fabi with its fists. The high-priests appoint their sons treasurers, and their sons-in-law captains of the temple, while their servants ill use the people and treat it to club-law."

That conduct such as here ascribed to the high-priestly families must eventually have rendered these dignitaries not only unpopular in Jerusalem, but hateful to the landed proprietors and country people generally, is proved by the fact that during the war of independence the rage of the people was equally implacable against those three powers whose aggressions had become unbearable:—the Romans, who robbed the people of their freedom; the house of Herod,

[20] According to Josephus, (Antiq., xx. 8, 11,) the house of Kantheras was also known by the name *Kabi*. Frankel (in Loc. Cit. p. 592) suggests that the Caiaphas (Joseph Ben Caiaphas) of the Christian Scriptures belonged to this family. According to the Talmud, (tr. Yomah, fol. 50,) the house of Kamyth derived its name from a pious matron, whose seven sons successively wore the insignia of the high-priesthood. This house is not named in Abba Saul's reproof, and only two of its members are known by name: Simon, celebrated for the immense size of his hand, and Joseph, who was appointed and deposed by Herod the Tetrarch.

who robbed the nation of its honour; and the sacerdotal aristocracy, that robbed religion of its sanctity. The choice of a high-priest, which in the last days of the temple fell on an obscure stonecutter, Simon of Chabta, was a solemn protest pronounced by the moral feeling and indignation of the people against the twofold desecration by which ambition and corruption degraded an office that should be most sacred.

Gratus, whose wholesale traffic was quietly conducted, was recalled to make room for a procurator of a very different dispostion. When, by the unlimited favour of the emperor, Sejanus rose to power, his policy induced him to place in office throughout the provinces creatures of his own, and altogether dependent on him. Such was Pontius Pilate, during ten years procurator of Judea, (27 to 37 C. E.,) a man who has gained for himself a dreadful immortality, and whom Jewish and Christian history alike brand with undying infamy. He was the first among the procurators who made the Judeans feel the full bitterness of Roman supremacy, whose acts of oppression goaded them on to exasperation, and who then punished their exasperation by fresh acts of cruelty and oppression.

Some derive his origin from Pontus, the kingdom of the great Mithridates, whence his name Pontius; his surname, Pilatus, was probably derived from his skill in throwing the spear, *pilum* or *pila*. He is said to have been a native of Rome or Italy; the legends of the Middle Ages made him a native of Gaul, (modern France,) and name Vienne, on the Rhone, as his birthplace. In that town and its environs they long showed, and perhaps still point out, the ruins of a tower and pleasure-house, said to have been his patrimony. (Salvador, *Domination Romaine*, vol. i. p. 428.)

The very first act of his administration was an earnest to the Judeans of what they had to expect at his hands. The Jews, in their abhorrence of idolatry, permitted no images

of any kind, whether sculptured or painted, to be exhibited to public view and admiration. The Roman standards were adorned with portraits of the reigning emperor; but as the procurators knew with what horror the Jews would look upon these portraits, planted in the city of the temple, the predecessors of Pontius had hitherto respected the feelings and the prejudices of the people, and never introduced other than plain white standards in Jerusalem. Pilate, however, had come to Judea with the determination to create troubles as a means of acquiring riches. He therefore ordered the embroidered standards to be, furtively and by night, marched into Jerusalem.

The sight of the imperial image in the holy city caused the greatest rage and consternation among the people; while some wept over the profanation and insult to their religion, others stormed at this open violation of their rights and outrage on their feelings. Crowds of Jews hurried to Cesarea, the procurator's official residence, and urged him to remove the offensive images. Seven days he resisted their entreaties, and at length, growing tired of their importunities, he ordered all the Jews to assemble on the race-course. There he caused them to be surrounded by his troops, and then, mounting a rostrum, he told them that unless they instantly returned to Jerusalem, he would order his cohorts to charge and cut them down. But to these Jews death was less terrible than what they deemed idolatry—not one stirred from the spot. Throwing themselves prostrate on the ground, they bared their breasts, and exclaimed they would rather die than return to witness the desecration of the holy city. This was a degree of passive resistance which Pilate was not prepared to encounter. Stern and Roman as he was, he dared not carry out his threat. Fortunately, some delegates from the leading families of Jerusalem, bearers of a considerable sum of money, made their way to him at this

moment of suspense; and, as he thus had gained his object, money, he appeared to relent, and, in pity for the obstinate prejudices of the people, he ordered the offensive standards to be removed from Jerusalem.

On this occasion no blood was shed; but some time afterward the procurator began to construct an aqueduct, the cost of which he determined to defray out of the temple treasury; and as he himself formed all the estimates and rendered account to no one, the people not only accused him of peculation, but some of the mob burst out in bitter invectives against him, as he was seated on his tribunal. Pilate must have expected some such outbreak, for he had ordered a number of his soldiers, armed, but wearing the garb of peaceful civilians, to mix among the crowd. At a preconcerted signal his ferocious legionaries began to butcher the people right and left. The innocent were cut down with the guilty, and some hundreds of lives were lost.

Such scenes became of frequent occurrence; Josephus and the Talmud enumerate several. Luke (xiii. 1, 2) speaks of a tumult in which some Galileans were pursued by the Romans into the very courts of the temple and slaughtered round the altar, so that their blood mixed with that of the sacrifices. In all these tumults the Galileans acted a conspicuous part, for their country was the stronghold of the Zealots. The ruler of Galilee, the tetrarch Herod Antipas, was altogether unable to curb or restrain his exasperated subjects. The procurator Pilate, therefore, took upon himself to exercise his authority in Galilee, which led to much ill-will between the two grandees.

It was during the administration of Pontius Pilate that the events related in the historical books of the Christian Scriptures are said to have occurred, and it was from before his tribunal that the founder of the Christian faith

was led forth to execution. We do not feel called upon to enter into this subject, for, at its origin, and during its infancy, Christianity has no claim on the attention of the Jewish historian. It is in its day of power, when, full-grown, it chooses to abuse its strength and to emulate the worst deeds of those varnished Pharisees whom its founder so justly condemns. It is then that Christianity enforces its painful claim on the reluctant notice of him who relates the tear-bedewed and blood-stained events of the Jewish history.

In his vexatious and cruel administration, Pilate appears to have relied on the support—promised or implied—of Sejanus; nor was it till after the fall of his patron that the procurator of Judea lost his office. Sejanus bitterly hated the Jews. Until he rose to power, Judaism enjoyed the special protection of the Cæsars, and the Jews at Rome formed a flourishing community, numbering eight thousand souls, chiefly residing in the suburb of Janiculum, across the Tiber. Some historians assert that Jews were first brought to that metropolis by Pompey after his conquest of Jerusalem. But it does not appear that, in addition to the family of Aristobulus II., Pompey carried with him to Rome any number of Jews sufficiently great to account for the "multitude" complained of by Cicero, in his defence of Flaccus, three years after Pompey's return; especially as these clamorous Jews, so busy in the public assemblies, must have been freemen, and may have been residents of Rome. We have, however, already (vol. i. p. 394) stated the reason for assuming that, probably, Jews were first brought to Rome by the Silician pirates full seventy years before Pompey's triumph; a space of time more likely to produce a multitude, than the couple of years between Pompey's return and Cicero's speech.

This Jewish community in Rome contained men who appear to have lived on a footing of intimacy with the celebrities of the Augustan age. Horace himself (lib. i.

sat. 7) has immortalized his quickwitted but tantalizing friend, Fuscus the Jew. M. Salvador justly remarks that the familiar manner in which Horace alludes to Jewish observances proves that these observances must have been well known to the Romans. (Domination Romaine, vol. i. 378.)

The religion of Rome was intimately connected with the state, and "part and parcel of the law of the land." It viewed with no friendly eye the worship of the many new and intrusive divinities with which the conquered provinces inundated the great metropolis. The law which declared unlawful meetings—"*collegia illicita*"—to be treasonable, was applied, and its penalties enforced, against all public foreign worship. Judaism formed the sole and honourable exception. Josephus (Antiq., lib. xiv. cap. 10) quotes from a decree of the Dictator, Julius Cæsar, that "though the consul, Caius Cæsar, had strictly prohibited religious conventicles in the city, (Rome,) the Jews alone had been exempted by name from that decree." Augustus confirmed this important right to them. He also caused them to be included in the public distribution of money and provisions which at certain seasons he bestowed on the people: and directed that whenever the day of distribution fell on their Sabbaths, the Jews were to receive their share on the day following.

Of all these rights and privileges they were deprived by Sejanus, who forbade their public worship in Rome, banished numbers of them from the city, and sent four thousand of their young men to perish in the isle of Sardinia, where the climate in summer was considered pestilential. After his death the persecution ceased; and Tiberius, by special decree, restored all their rights. (Philo., Legat., ad Cajum, p. 101, c.)

The closing act of Pilate's administration in Judea was in keeping with the whole of his previous conduct. Superstitious Samaritans having been persuaded by an imposter

that Moses had formerly buried sacred vessels on the holy mountain of Gerizim, a number of them met with the intention of ascending the mountain to dig for these vessels. They had committed no breach of the peace; but as they had assembled without permission, and were armed, Pilate chose to consider their meeting as a riotous or dangerous assembly, and caused their bivouac, near the village of Tirathaba, to be attacked by horse and foot. A great number were killed, many more were made prisoners. Among these, Pilate selected every man of note and property, and ordered them to be beheaded, without mercy or delay, and their possessions, as well as those of the other prisoners, and of the slain in the attack, to be confiscated.

The Samaritans complained of this massacre to the proconsul of Syria, Vitellius—the father of the glutton who subsequently became emperor. This officer, Pilate's superior, had the year before (35 C. E.) visited Jerusalem, and gained the good-will of the people, not only by a remission of taxes, but even in a higher degree by confiding the custody of the pontifical garments—which till then had been intrusted to the Roman garrison in the castle of Antonia—to the high-priest, Jonathan ben Anan, whom he had appointed after removing Caiaphas from that high dignity.

Vitellius examined the complaint of the Samaritans, and, as he had become convinced of the rapacity and misrule of Pilate, he appointed Marcellus to the office of procurator, and ordered Pilate forthwith to repair to Rome to defend his conduct. Pilate had held office during ten years of great popular discontent and disturbance. On his arrival in Italy he found the Emperor Tiberius dead, and his grand-nephew, Caius, surnamed Caligula, seated on the throne. The cause against Pilate was never publicly tried; but it is said that he was sent into banishment to Vienne, in France, by some said to have been the place of his nativity,

and that there he committed suicide. In the environs of Lucerne, a town in Switzerland, a lake and mountain bear the name of Pilate; and a legend of the Middle Ages relates how the ex-procurator of Judea, after having lived some time as a hermit on the mountain, sought a grave beneath the waters of the lake.

The Emperor Caius, better known as Caligula—a name branded with the never-ceasing abhorrence of mankind—ascended the throne from which assassination had removed his predecessor, and which he himself occupied as a madman. The immense power possessed by a Roman emperor, the weight of moral responsibility resulting from that possession, and the unceasing danger by which it was attended, proved too great a burden for most minds. The reign of Caligula opened with the most auspicious expectations. His father, Germanicus, had been the favourite of the Roman world; his son was beloved as his representative. Suetonius relates that the public joy was evidenced by upward of one hundred and sixty thousand animals being sacrificed in the various temples as offerings for his prosperity, and in thanksgiving for his accession; and, during the first few months, Caligula seemed to deserve the love of his people. But gradually his mind became depraved and diseased to that degree, that on one occasion, when in the theatre, the spectators did not share his opinion, he was heard, in a transport of rage, to exclaim: "Would to heaven that the Roman people had but one head, that I might cut it off at one blow." (Suetonius, in Caium Caligul., § 29.)

The predominating idea in his mind was to carry out to the fullest extent the new worship introduced by Augustus, that of the reigning emperor, the man-god. Tiberius had modestly resigned his divine honours to his predecessor, Augustus; but, nevertheless, the principle that the emperor had the right to be worshipped as a god was solemnly confirmed during his reign. Eleven citizens in Asia ap-

peared before the senate in eager competition for the privilege of erecting a temple to Tiberius. Two of these cities, Ephesus and Miletus, were at once excluded from the competition, because the worship of Diana in the first-named city, and of Apollo in the second one, were too renowned and absorbing to allow of due veneration for the godhead of Tiberius. (Tacitus, Annal., lib. iv. § 55.)

This circumstance had produced a strong impression on the memory of Caligula, who determined that the supremacy of his worship should supersede every other religion. As emperor, he took precedence of all monarchs and rulers of the known world; as god, he insisted on enjoying the like precedence in every temple throughout his empire. Accordingly, he compelled the Greeks to send him the most beautiful and celebrated statues of the greater gods, and, among them, the Olympian Jupiter. From all these masterpieces of art the emperor removed the heads, and placed his own bust upon the mutilated statues. Throughout the wide extent of the Roman world the orders of the man-god were enforced with all the fear and trepidation which arose from the ungovernable rage into which, as was well known, the emperor was thrown by the slightest resistance offered to his divine supremacy.

To most of the Gentile nations a divinity more or less made no great difference. While numerous cities rivalled each other in the excessive zeal of their adulation, men of mind—whether they laughed at the folly or regretted the impiety of the emperor—never attempted to dispute or to disobey the imperial command. In Jerusalem, however, Caligula's claim to divine honours caused the greatest consternation; for, to the Jews, it was a question of life or death. If Jerusalem had permitted a godhead of flesh and blood to invade its temple, under any pretext whatever, it would at once have renounced its most sacred mission. Had the Jews quailed before the imperial madman-god,

they would have betrayed alike their ancestors and their posterity; they would have proved faithless alike to the one God of heaven and of earth, and to the future destinies of all mankind.

When Caligula's mandate, requiring his image to be placed in the temple, reached Jerusalem, Vitellius had already resigned his functions as governor of Syria. His successor, Petronius, a kind-hearted and clear-headed man, soon perceived how difficult it would be to obtain obedience from the Jews, even if force were employed against them. Throughout the whole of Judea every species of labour and occupation ceased—the imminence of the danger absorbed every other consideration. Crowds repaired to Ptolemais, where the governor sojourned, to entreat him, prostrate and with streaming eyes, not to persevere in a design which must lead to the utter destruction of Judea; while others declared that it was only on streams of blood that the imperial image could be brought to the temple. Petronius hesitated; he saw the danger of driving to extremities a people so widely spread, so powerful, and, on this question, so unanimous and determined, as were the Jews; he, therefore, delayed from week to week, and from month to month, to carry out the orders he had received.

But such was not the case in Alexandria. Already, the year before, a dangerous conflict had been on the point of breaking out between the Jewish and Gentile inhabitants of that city. The ill-will between the two was not yet extinct. The heathens knew to a certainty that the Jews would not submit to have the image of the emperor introduced into their places of worship. They were equally certain that the emperor would uphold those who upheld his godhead. An attack on the Jewish quarters was the consequence; pillage and massacre went hand-in-hand;

while the Roman governor, Avilius Flaccus,[21] already out of favour with the emperor, did not dare to incur his further displeasure by checking the zeal of his worshippers. The spirit of Antiochus Epiphanes seemed once more to stalk abroad, so fearful were the atrocities committed against the Jews by the mob of Alexandria, which were not speedily forgotten, and which, after a lapse of time, were as fearfully avenged.

The Jews of Egypt who escaped or survived the massacre hastened to send a delegation to the emperor to implore his clemency and protection. At the head of the deputation they placed one of the great luminaries of the learning and of the religious and moral philosophy of that epoch, the celebrated Philo, whose writings have so often been put into requisition by the fathers of the Christian Church. He has left an account of this audience which Caligula granted to the Egypto-Jewish deputation, interesting, because of the particulars into which it enters, and which show us how imbecile and ridiculous was the dreaded emperor of Rome. After a lengthened interview, during which the emperor ran from one apartment to another, gave a multitude of orders to his attendants, and asked questions without deigning to hear the replies, he at length dismissed the trembling delegates with the remark, "These people are less wicked than unhappy and senseless in that they do not believe in my divine nature." Though Caligula thus seemed to relent, it is certain that he resumed

[21] At Tentyra, in Egypt, a monument has lately been discovered upon which the name of Aulus Avilius Flaccus has been defaced, apparently by the violence of popular indignation. (Letronne, *Recueil d'inscriptions Grecques et Latines d'Egypte*, p. 88.) M. Salvador is of opinion that this fact attests the vengeance the Jews inflicted on the memory of a man who, both actively and by his inactivity, had caused them much harm, and whose misconduct as governor of Egypt was punished, first, with banishment and confiscation of the riches he had so rapaciously accumulated, and, finally, after due investigation, with death.

the intention of placing his image in the temple at Jerusalem; and so exasperated was he against Petronius for presuming to hesitate, that he sent an order to that governor to despatch himself. Fortunately, Caligula himself was despatched in time to prevent either of his mischievous orders from taking effect.

The madman Caius was succeeded by his uncle Claudius, the fool. Among those who, after the destruction of Caligula, were most active in securing the throne to Claudius, was Herod Agrippa, a son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great by the Asmonean Mariamne. This prince had met with vicissitudes so strange, and had experienced so many changes of fortune, that the events of his life would furnish materials for an interesting romance. Educated at Rome, and on terms of intimacy with the princes of the imperial family, he had been a favourite and companion of Drusus, the son of the Emperor Tiberius. Profuse in his expenditure, and vain of his royal lineage, Agrippa soon exhausted his slender patrimony, and had contracted debts to an enormous amount, when the untimely death of Drusus induced his father Tiberius to remove from Rome all the companions of the deceased whose presence only reminded him of his loss. Agrippa returned to Judea a ruined man, shut himself up for a time in a dilapidated old castle in Idumea, where he suffered the extreme of distress, became a dependent on the charity of his family, and when he could no longer endure the humiliations with which they accompanied their gifts, a hanger-on of the Roman governor of Syria.

Weary of eating the bread of poverty and dependence, he once more repaired to Rome, was kindly received by Tiberius, renewed his former intimacy with Caligula, and, on the strength of his supposed favour at court, once more found credit with the usurers of Rome. One day, however, as Agrippa was taking a ride with Caligula, he ut-

tered the very natural wish that the old emperor would die and make room for his friend. His words were overheard by the charioteer, who denounced him, and Agrippa was thrown into prison, where he remained six months, uncertain as to what might be his fate. When Tiberius was taken ill, it soon became known in Rome, and his rapidly increasing debility left no doubt of his speedy dissolution. But no one dared to speak of his illness, lest an unguarded word might attract the attention of his numerous spies. One day, while Agrippa was conversing with the keeper of the prison, a freedman of the Herodian prince suddenly entered, and with an air of mystery told him in Hebrew, "the lion is dead." Agrippa involuntarily burst out into an exclamation of joy, and when the keeper ascertained the cause, he complimented the prince on his impending change of fortune.

The keeper, anxious to gain the favour of his prisoner, even went so far as to invite him to dinner in his own private apartment. But while they were at table, intelligence arrived that Tiberius was recovered from his syncope and on his way to Rome. The vile time-serving jailer became alarmed, and, rushing on Agrippa, he taxed him with falsehood and treason, hurried him away from the table, and caused him to be loaded with heavy chains. Fortunately for Agrippa, the accession of Caligula was not delayed, for though the old emperor, after being reported dead, had rallied, recovered his speech, and called for food, he was not permitted to live. Alarmed for his own safety, and for that of all those who had hailed Caius Caligula as emperor, the chief of the Pretorian guards, Macron, adopted a sudden resolution, and caused the old tyrant to be stifled.

One of the first acts of Caligula, as emperor, was to release his friend Agrippa from prison. Exchanging the chains of iron, with which that prince had been loaded,

for others of equal weight in gold, Caligula clothed him in purple, placed a diadem on his head, and, proclaiming him KING, bestowed on him the tetrarchies north of Judea as far as the Lebanon. It was the presence of Agrippa at Alexandria, on his return from Rome to his kingdom, which had caused the first tumult in that city, the Egyptians being envious that the Jews should have a king and semblance of independence while they themselves had none; and bloodshed was only prevented by Agrippa's hurried departure.

On his next visit to Rome the Hebrew king had exerted all his influence with Caligula to induce him to forego his design of placing his image in the temple, and had even for a time succeeded. But the capricious Caligula soon resumed his purpose, and Agrippa was in danger of the imperial displeasure, when Caligula perished. The senate for an instant felt the revival of its pristine spirit, and began to talk of restoring the ancient republic and its form of government. But the day of freedom was forever gone for these degenerate Romans; and chiefly through the influence and diplomacy of Agrippa, his old crony, Claudius, was recognised emperor. To reward him for his really important services, Claudius reconstructed and bestowed upon him the kingdom of Judea, such as with all its dependencies it had been possessed by his grandfather, Herod the Great, and enlarged by the tetrarchy of Abilene. (41 C. E.) Claudius entered into a solemn alliance with the new king, issued several decrees in favour of the Jews, and at the request of Agrippa bestowed the kingdom of Chalcis on his brother Herod. Agrippa even obtained the honours of the consulship, and his brother was appointed prætor, which entitled both to a seat in the senate—a dignity at that time still revered as the highest on earth, next to the emperor.

On his return to Judea, Agrippa was well received by his new subjects; for, though the representative of the

hated house of Herod, he was also a descendant of the honoured and cherished Asmonean race. Agrippa was sincerely attached to his religion, and anxious for the welfare of his country and people. He enlarged Jerusalem by building a new quarter on the north side of the city, which he called Bezetha, and which, having fortified, he wished to join to the old city by surrounding the whole with a strong wall, which, added to the fortifications already erected, would have rendered Jerusalem impregnable. This wall, however, he could not erect without permission obtained from Rome, which, accordingly, he solicited; but the governor of Syria so forcibly represented the danger to Roman supremacy of this undertaking, which had already proceeded to some extent, that peremptory orders were given to desist from the work. Agrippa did not long survive this disappointment, but died at Cesarea, after having reigned over the tetrarchies seven, and over all Judea three years. (44 C. E.)

His death was bitterly lamented by the Jews, who under his government had enjoyed peace and prosperity, and been freed from the onerous presence of Roman officials and licentious legionaries. This last circumstance will probably explain why the Roman garrison at Cesarea indulged in extravagant demonstrations of joy at his death. Indeed, so brutal and outrageously indecent had been the conduct of the legionaries, that the emperor Claudius determined to remove them out of the country—a determination which that weak-minded emperor, unfortunately for Judea, allowed himself to be dissuaded from carrying into effect. The Greek inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste, unwilling to be the subjects of a Jewish king, also publicly testified their joy at the demise of King Agrippa. Claudius had promised him that his son should succeed to his kingdom; but as that prince, Agrippa II., was only seventeen years of age, he was deemed too young for so import-

ant a trust. The emperor, therefore, restored the state of things that had existed in Judea previous to the reign of Agrippa I., and appointed Cuspius Fadus procurator, while Herod, King of Chalcis, was placed over the temple and treasury, with power to appoint high-priests.

During the short administration of Fadus, Judea was visited with a severe famine, and the sufferings of the people were extreme. They were, however, liberally assisted by Isates, King of Adiabene, and his mother, Helena, both proselytes to Judaism. This king, a feudatory of the great Parthian empire, reigned over territories situated on the river Tigris, and which contained a numerous Jewish population. He had lately been induced by the teaching of Ananias—said to have been a travelling merchant—to embrace Judaism. His mother and his brothers—one of whom, Monbazes II., succeeded him on the throne—had joined him in his new faith. The family built a splendid palace at Jerusalem, where some of them occasionally resided. Their donations to the temple, and gifts to the people, were very considerable; and by their means the ancient friendship between Judeans and Parthians was revived.

Cuspius Fadus was succeeded in his office by Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Jew, and nephew of the celebrated Philo of Alexandria. He held office two years, during which King Herod of Chalcis died. The emperor Claudius bestowed his kingdom, together with the inspectorship of the temple, on his nephew Agrippa II., while Judea was definitively, and to the great discontent of the people, incorporated with the Roman empire. Under the next procurator, Ventidius Cumanus, the troubles began which eventually destoyed Jerusalem and its temple. The legion that had been stationed at Cesarea, and which Claudius had neglected to remove from Judea, was now quartered at Jerusalem, and seized every opportunity to insult and exasperate the people. Roman soldiers indecently exposed

their persons on the temple-mount in presence of the multitude assembled for divine worship on the Passover. (48 C. E.) Roman soldiers tore copies of the Pentateuch to pieces before the people with words of blasphemy and insult. The Jews were not a people tamely to endure either; and, had they even been inclined to submit, "The Zealots"—whose association daily acquired greater strength and consistency—were always at hand, ready to promote tumult and bloodshed. The procurators who successively held office in Judea were men of the most vile and rapacious disposition. During the reign of Claudius, the provinces of the Roman world were given up to the domination of freedmen; slaves who had been emancipated by the favour of the emperor, or of his grandees, and whose services, often of such a nature that we blush even to hint at them, were rewarded with the government of extensive provinces. Solomon, in his wisdom, declared that one of the things which disturb the earth is "a slave who governs," (Prov. xxx. 22,) and the experience of Judea fully bore him out. Felix—a brother of Pallas, the freedman and favourite of Claudius — who succeeded Cumanus, governed Judea during ten years (50–60 C. E.) with all the tyranny ascribed to the worst Oriental despots, so that neither life nor property were safe. In the early part of his administration the emperor Claudius died, (54 C. E.) poisoned by his fourth wife, Agrippina, the mother of Nero. But Felix was not removed till six years after the accession of Nero, when his misgovernment was become so intolerable, that, notwithstanding the influence of his brother Pallas with the emperor, the Jews sent a deputation to Rome, which obtained his recall.

Festus, his successor, though not so worthless as he, was not able to restore quiet to the country, or to remedy the evil that had taken root under his predecessor. For the Zealots were become conscious of their strength; their

bands, armed and organized, frequently fought the Romans, and not always unsuccessfully. The people, exasperated by oppression, became ferocious. Professed assassins were equally ready to use their dagger in their own quarrel, or in that of others who hired them. These banditti were called Sicarii, from their using daggers curved like the Roman *sicæ*. These they concealed under their garments, and, mingling with the crowd, they watched their opportunity until, unseen, they could strike their victim, who fell, singled out by invisible hands from surrounding multitudes, none of whom had seen the blow struck.

Festus died in office, and was succeeded by Albinus, in the year 62, and he was succeeded by Gessius Florus, the last of the Roman procurators in Judea; both men of character and conduct so detestable, that even Felix came to be regretted by the Jews. Tacitus bears witness to the extreme tyranny in which these two bad men indulged, and to the patience with which the Jews bore many a provocation, until a quarrel between the Jews and Greeks, at Cesarea, respecting the ownership of that city, led to a general rising throughout Judea.

The oppression and rapacity which during so many years bore sway in the internal administration of Judea—which were upheld by the base servility of the Herodian family, and could not be restrained by the authority of the high-priesthood, in the appointment to which corruption so notoriously prevailed—were rendered still more fatal to the morals and public spirit of the people by the divisions and subdivisions in the Sanhedrin. Not only did the old sects of Pharisees and Sadducees carry on their long-standing and irreconcilable strife, but the Pharisees had been split into two contending schools, those of Hillel and of Shammai, who on points of observance and on principles of interpretation were more strongly opposed to each other than their founders had ever been. As all matters before the

Sanhedrin had to be decided by a majority, and as neither of the parties into which that body was divided could ever make sure of a plurality of votes, the Sanhedrin became averse to take upon itself the decision of questions of importance, especially where human life was concerned. Forty years before the destruction of the temple, the Sanhedrin voluntarily renounced the *jus gladium*—the right to condemn and put criminals to death. (Talmud, tr. Abodah Sarah, fo. 8, B; Sanhedrin, fo. 41, A; conf. John xviii. 31.[22]) And as the local judges throughout the land were not permitted to exercise a right which the great Sanhedrin had renounced, the criminal justice of Judea was *de facto* handed over to the Romans. One consequence of this dereliction of duty on the part of the Sanhedrin was that the people, who identified their natural judges with the Law of God which these judges administered, were deprived of that salutary fear which till then had rendered the Jews pre-eminently a law-abiding people. Whereas thenceforth the insidious influence of the Zealots taught the people to look upon every capital execution by the Romans as an act not of justice, but of murder, to be resisted, resented, and revenged. Accordingly assassination—chiefly of Romans and their adherents—became, as we have already stated, an every-day occurrence: and the *sicarri* enjoyed complete impunity, protected by the hatred which the people nursed against the Romans and their jurisprudence.

[22] The Talmud, (tr. Abodah Sarah, in loc. cit.,) in rigid adherence to the letter of the Law, "the place which the Lord thy God shall choose," (Deut. xvii. 8, 10,) lays down the rule that the *jus gladium* is inseparable from the temple of the Lord; and that if the judges sit in any other locality they have not the right to sentence and execute a culprit. The Sanhedrin usually held its sittings in the *Lishkath Hagazis*, "stone portico," within the precincts of the temple; and to divest themselves of the duty of convicting capitally, the members of the Sanhedrin had but to remove their sitting to some locality not forming part of the temple. This will explain the conversation between Pilate and the Jews in John xviii. 31.

לשכת הגזית

Nor was it only the security of person which was thus violated; the security of property suffered almost in an equal degree. From the Mishna (tr. Kilaim, ch. vii. § 6) we learn that Roman officials throughout Judea were in the habit of forcibly seizing houses and lands, which they occupied, and even rented out to others, and that this forcible occupation continued so long as the Roman intruder remained stationed in that place. Sometimes these intruders sold the possessions they had usurped to others, whose title could not be disputed so long as the despoiler was present to support his sale, but whose ejection by the original owner gave rise to bitter litigation, and increased the ill-feeling which already to so great an extent prevailed among the people.

Another fatal consequence of the Roman sway, and the manner in which it was carried on, was the neglect of education. From the days of Ezra downward, it appears that the religious and general instruction of children had been an object of public solicitude, and that funds were appropriated for that special purpose. During the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes the schools had greatly suffered; during and after the civil wars under King Jannai they also fell into decay; but on the accession of Queen Alexandra, Simon the son of Shetahh reopened and greatly patronized the primary schools. During the Roman dominion the rapacity of the procurators diverted the school-funds to their own private use. Throughout the provinces of Judea the children were left untaught, and ignorance prevailed to so general and frightful a degree that it became necessary to make provision for the case occurring of a high-priest who was unable or not accustomed to read the Scriptures, (Mishna, tr. Yomah, ch. i. § 6,) as such illiterate pontiffs were not a few. We have already related that Joshua ben Gamla merited and obtained the good opinion of the people by his energetic efforts to establish

schools and to promote education. But as he did not acquire the high-priesthood till the year 64 C. E., his institutions had not time to take root. In the provinces they were soon ruined by the war; and though in Jerusalem they seem to have been more successful, (Talmud, tr. Gittin, fo. 57, B,) yet an eminent Rabbi, Hamnuna, does not hesitate to name "the neglect of education" as one of the principal causes that led to the destruction of that city. (Ibid, tr. Sabbath, fo. 119, B.)

There were doubtless many men of profound erudition and extensive general knowledge in Judea; the talents, political, military, and administrative, so abundantly manifested in the earlier periods of the war, prove beyond a doubt that the learning of educated Judeans was, at least, on a par with that of the East and of the West. But this was an advantage not shared by the masses, and the consequences were fatal to the Jewish nation. Oppression had goaded the people into a restless desire and expectation of change. Every one knew that the Scriptures abound with prophecies which promise to Israel glory, power, and prosperity. The impatience and ignorance of the people rendered them liable to be misled by every propounder of false doctrine, whether knave or fanatic. Provided he could assume the outward guise of sanctimoniousness, and knew how to quote Scripture fluently, right or wrong, he was sure to find followers who listened with veneration to his expositions of prophecy, and were ready to embrace his claims, of whatever nature these were. When to this frame of mind among the people generally we add the incessant incitations of the Zealots, we cannot feel surprised that, notwithstanding the overwhelming power of Rome, the masses in Judea should have rushed on a struggle which, in the ordinary course of events, could only lead to their destruction.

Agrippa—the son of that Herod Agrippa whom the em-

peror Claudius had appointed king of Judea, and who at the death of his father had been deemed too young to succeed him in the kingdom—had now grown up to man's estate. In addition to the tetrarchy of Chalcis, the emperor Claudius bestowed on him Gaulonitis, the territory formerly held by his grand-uncle Philip, together with a portion of Galilee near the lake, and containing the towns of Tiberias, Tarichæa, and Julias, with fourteen villages. These possessions yielded a considerable revenue to Agrippa II., who, having obtained the title of king, formed for himself a small army of mercenaries, and indulged his love of building by extensive erections in the cities of Cesarea-Philippi and Berytus. Claudius had also appointed him governor of the temple, in which capacity he continued the traffic in the high-priesthood, removing from and appointing to that high office as his interest or his caprice dictated. In order at all times to know what was doing in the temple, Agrippa raised his palace to such a height that his upper rooms overlooked the whole of the temple-mount. At this the priests took umbrage, and erected a wall on the western side of the mount sufficiently high to close the view against Agrippa. He disputed their right of building on the temple-mount, and it was found necessary by the priests to send a deputation to Rome, at the head of which they placed the public-spirited and popular high-priest Ishmael ben Fabi. King Agrippa, however, had interest sufficient at Rome to cause the head of the deputation to be detained as a hostage until the dispute should be decided. He then deposed the absent pontiff, and in his stead appointed Anan, a Sadducee, who began his ministry by convening a Sanhedrin, and resuming the *jus gladium*, which so long had lain in abeyance. Several offenders were tried, convicted, and, with the usual rigour of the Sadducees, put to death. These executions took place without the knowledge or consent of the procu-

rator; and as the people placed Sadducee and Roman justice on a par, and equally detested both, the public discontent became so alarming that King Agrippa was compelled to dismiss Anan from his high office.

Another cause of public offence was given by the improper and debauched conduct of the king himself and of his two sisters, Berenice and Drusilla. Both of them were married, Berenice first to her uncle, Herod, Prince of Chalcis, and after his death to Polemon, King of Cilicia, and Drusilla to Aziz, King of Emesa, suitors who, in order to obtain their hands, had embraced Judaism. These women quitted their husbands, and led a life that provoked public indignation. Drusilla, the younger, became the wife of Felix, the procurator of Judea, by whom she had a son, Agrippa, who with his wife perished in the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius which destroyed the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. (79 C. E.) Berenice was accused of conduct still more flagrant, and of which Josephus declares her not guilty; but if even the worst charge against her and her brother the king be a calumny, still Berenice, the subsequent paramour of Titus, was as immoral as she was beautiful and accomplished. The example publicly set by this royal family was consequently most pernicious, and in a great measure justified the execration with which the Zealots loaded the house of Agrippa.[23]

In the Christian Scriptures (Acts xxiv. 24) we find mention made of the singular marriage between a Jewish princess and a pagan governor. We also find that the procurator had his seat at Cesarea. But his presence did

[23] Agrippa had a third sister, Mariamne, who, after the example of the other two, also deserted her first husband, Archelaus ben Chelkias, an officer of high rank in the service of her father, and became the wife of Demetrius Alexander, alabarch or chief of the Jewish community in Alexandria, a man of immense wealth, nephew of Philo, and brother to Tiberius Alexander the apostate, procurator of Judea.

not check or even prevent the outbreak of the rancorous feeling which animated the mixed population in that city, and which at length led to a civil war in its streets. Jews and Syro-Greeks fought for the exclusive right of appointing magistrates. Fortune favoured the Jews, who probably were the most numerous, but Felix caused the Roman garrison to attack the victors; many were slain, and the dispute was eventually carried before the tribunal of Nero at Rome.

Coeval with these appeals from Judea was a war in the East between the Romans and Parthians. In the vast territories possessed by the latter, the Jews were both numerous and wealthy; the far greater part of the metropolitan cities of Nisibis and Nehardea belonged to them. Their prosperity in the Parthian empire was for a time interrupted by the ill-feeling provoked by two brothers, Asinai and Anilai, weavers by trade, who renounced their occupation and placed themselves at the head of a gang of robbers that infested the eastern shores of the Euphrates. Their devastations called forth the satrap of Babylon, who attacked them, but was defeated with great loss. Artaban, King of Parthia, an indolent monarch, deemed it most expedient to take the valorous and successful robber-chiefs into his own service, and, having called Asinai to court, appointed him governor of Mesopotamia. This appointment Asinai held with great renown during fifteen years, when he was murdered by his own brother. Anilai became enamoured of the wife of a Parthian general, put the husband to death, and married the widow. But this woman, who was an idolatress, carried her idols with her into her new husband's house; and when Asinai reproached him for these foul proceedings, and urged him to renounce a connection hateful alike in the sight of God and of man, she prevailed on Anilai to poison and thus forever to silence the importunate monitor.

After the death of Asinai, the fratricide assumed the government of Mesopotamia. At the same time he recommenced his plundering inroads into the adjoining satrapies. The king's son-in-law, Mithridates, took up arms against the robber, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and disgracefully treated by Anilai, who caused his captive to be led into his camp naked, and mounted on an ass. When Mithridates recovered his liberty, by the payment of a heavy ransom, his wife, a daughter of the king of Parthia, not only urged him to revenge his disgrace, but used her influence to raise an overwhelming force, by which Anilai was defeated and slain, and his gang totally exterminated. But, not satisfied with these acts of justice, the populace, exasperated against the Jews because of Anilai, attacked, plundered, and slaughtered the peaceful Jewish communities throughout Mesopotamia. After much suffering and great loss of life, the Jews found a temporary refuge at Seleucia, whence, after a time, they returned to their former habitations in Nehardea and Nisibis. During all these commotions, attended with so much bloodshed, King Artaban remained an unconcerned spectator in his new city of Ktesiphon. Popular indignation, however, drove him from the throne, and, in order to save his life, he fled on foot and disguised toward Adiabene. Here he was recognised by Isates, King of Adiabene, who at the time of their meeting, and according to the general custom of Parthia, was on horseback, but instantly dismounted and offered his horse, and with it his own services, to his sovereign. By the assistance of Isates, King Artaban recovered the throne of Parthia, and rewarded his auxiliary with many royal privileges, and with the gift of the city and territory of Nisibis. As Isates had become a convert to Judaism, the Jews, under his powerful protection, soon regained their former prosperous condition, though he himself was exposed to great danger from the discon-

tent of his heathen subjects in Adiabene. After a long and glorious reign, Isates, at his death, left his crown to his brother, Monbaz II., who caused the bodies of Isates and of his mother Helena to be carried to Jerusalem, where they were interred in a mausoleum constructed by her, and where his nephews carried on their studies and possessed a noble mansion.

Vologeses, the third successor of Artaban on the throne of Parthia, became involved in war against Rome, in consequence of both empires claiming supremacy over the kingdoms of Greater and Lesser Armenia. To the vassal thrones of these countries the emperor Nero appointed two princes connected with the families of the Asmoneans and of Herod the Great. Tigranes, of Greater Armenia, was a descendant of Alexander III. and Glaphyra; and Aristobulus, of Lesser Armenia, was a son by his first wife of Herod, late Prince of Chalcis, the brother of Agrippa I. Both these princes, however, were expelled by Vologeses, who appointed his own brother, Tiridates, king of all Armenia, and altogether repudiated the rights of Rome. The consequence was a war, which began in the year 58, and continued with alternate success till the year 63. The Romans were commanded by Quadratus, governor of Syria, and by Corbulo, a leader renowned alike as a warrior and a diplomatist. The eastern provinces of Rome, and all the tributary princes, had to furnish their contingents to the Roman armies, and thus the troops of King Agrippa II. and the Jews came to take part in the war. The divided authority, however, and disputes between the two generals, paralyzed the progress of the Roman arms; and it was not till the death of Quadratus left to Corbulo the sole command that the war became active, by the invasion of Armenia. The king of Parthia had found occupation in the eastern territories of his empire, where civil commotions of a serious nature had to be suppressed. To

these the intrigues of Rome were probably no strangers, while the turbulent and inconstant disposition of the Parthians was of itself sufficiently prone to rebellion. As Tiridates of Armenia by these means was reduced to his own force, which consisted chiefly of cavalry, he took care not to fight any pitched battles, but contented himself with harassing the Romans by continual skirmishes. Corbulo, however, was too great a master of the art of war to be checked in his advance by any army that Tiridates, alone and unsupported, could bring against him. He therefore marched directly upon Artaxata, the capital of Armenia.

This city, it was at that time said and generally believed, had been planned by the Carthagenian Hannibal. Forced to flee from the court of Antiochus III. of Syria, the great adversary of Rome had sought refuge with Artaxias, King of Armenia, whom he persuaded to build a city that in case of need might serve as a bulwark against the western conquerors. Hannibal himself fixed upon the site and traced the fortifications of this new capital, to which the king gave his own name, and the importance of which is attested by Plutarch, who, (in vit. Lucull.) designates Artaxata as the Carthage of Armenia. This strong city, however, King Tiridates with his cavalry felt himself unable effectually to defend. He therefore withdrew his garrison, and generously left the citizens at liberty to open their gates to the Romans. In so doing he certainly did not and could not foresee what would be the doom of the city inflicted by victors who branded all other nations as barbarous.

Corbulo took possession of the undefended city; he then ordered the entire population to be removed, set fire to the houses, and caused the fortifications to be razed to the ground. The progress of the war did not call for so terrible an example. But the policy of Rome in Asia was intent on destroying all those strongholds within which

the activity and defensive force of nations could be centralized, and which thus might become serious obstacles to the spread of her power. Within twelve years after the destruction of Artaxata the same legions that had set fire to the Armenian Carthage lighted the flames which consumed Jerusalem; and though Josephus tries hard to make us believe that Titus wished to save the capital of Judea, there can be no doubt that the same policy dictated both destructions.

The arms of Rome thus seated Tigranes on the throne of Armenia, while Corbulo was appointed pro-consul of Syria—an office vacant by the death of Quadratus. But the nominee of Rome did not long remain in possession of his kingdom. Tigranes provoked the military pride of the Parthians by the invasion of Adiabene. A national council was summoned, and King Vologeses once more was induced to lead an army against the Romans. He had with some difficulty mastered the rebellion in East Parthia, and at the same time convinced himself that his personal safety and the stability of his throne would be better insured by an alliance with Rome than by a war against that powerful empire. It was therefore reluctantly, and urged on by the unanimous will of his great feudatories, that he again entered Armenia, drove out the Romans and their vassal, and reinstated his brother Tiridates, while a numerous army of Parthians threatened the western shores of the Euphrates.

The command of the Roman forces had again been divided. While Corbulo, at the head of one army, was charged with the defence of Syria, a second army, under Petus, marched into Armenia. The emperor Nero, with the suspicion inseparable from tyranny, feared to trust too much to Corbulo. And though Tacitus (Annal., lib. v. § 4) assumes that the appointment of a colleague, especially charged with the command in Armenia, was at the request

of Corbulo himself, it is certain that Petus was appointed as a rival, who would share the fame and divide the power over the army in the East which Corbulo was likely to acquire. But Petus was more of a courtier than a general. His measures in Armenia were so badly calculated, and his forces so widely scattered, that his campaign proved a disgraceful failure. At the very time that his messengers arrived in Rome announcing his rapid advance and success, he himself was besieged in his camp by the king of Parthia. And though the Roman suffered from no want of provisions, and had solicited aid from Corbulo, yet, as the arrival of that aid was delayed beyond his expectations, he consented to capitulate. The Romans engaged to evacuate Armenia, and to surrender to the Parthian king all the fortresses with their munitions of war which they held in that country; and so anxious was Petus to get beyond the reach of the Parthians, that he marched forty miles in one day, and left all his wounded behind him.

Corbulo had made no very great haste to succour his rival; at length, however, he marched, and soon came in sight of his colleague, with his fugitive legions. When the two armies met, the misery and humiliation of the vanquished were so intense as to cause their comrades to shed tears. The defeated army was followed by Parthian negotiators, who proceeded to Rome with the offer of peace. But the ancient traditions of the mistress of the West forbade any coming to terms with a victorious enemy. Rome felt shocked and irritated at the disgrace of her arms. The capitulation was compared with the Caudinian forks, and all the might of Rome was put into requisition to revenge the insult and to punish the insolent Parthian. Corbulo was appointed sole commander throughout the East, with powers but little inferior to those formerly held by Pompey. All tributary kings, tetrarchs, and governors, were directed to pay implicit obedience to the em-

peror's *lieutenant* in the East. His army was strongly reinforced, and Corbulo, at the head of a large force, once more invaded Armenia. His policy—the policy of Rome—on that occasion was exactly like that adopted by the British after their reverses in Afghanistan in 1842. They sent a strong force into the country to punish the victorious chiefs, and having thus vindicated the power and re-established the terror of their arms, they restored to the throne the selfsame monarch whom they themselves had dispossessed and carried to prison. A similar line of conduct was adopted by Corbulo. On his advance in Armenia, he everywhere expelled the chiefs who had taken up arms against Rome, stormed and took such strongholds as laid in his way, and spread fear and consternation over the plains as well as over the hill-country. (Tacitus, Annal., lib. xv. § 27.) While he was thus intent on restoring the terror of the Roman arms, he was equally active in negotiating a peace with Vologeses. For Corbulo was prudent as well as bold, and a skilful diplomatist as well as an able general. The terms of the peace concluded left the substantial advantage with the Parthians, as Tigranes, the nominee of Nero, had to renounce the crown of Armenia; but it saved the honour of Rome, inasmuch as Tiridates, the brother of the king of Parthia, had to acknowledge that he received that crown as a gift of the Roman emperor.. The intercourse between the Roman commander and the Parthian king enabled the former to dive into the secret thoughts and desires of the latter. Corbulo therefore offered to Vologeses the alliance of Rome, as a means not only of preserving amity and peace between the two empires, but as the most efficient support which the king of Parthia could obtain against the fickle and rebellious disposition of his own subjects. Vologeses entered fully into Corbulo's views, and thenceforth remained deaf to every appeal. When, a few years later, the power of

Rome tottered throughout the East—when the insurrection in Judea gave occupation to sixty thousand Roman veterans, while Gauls, Britons, and Spaniards rose in the West, and the crown of the Cæsars, fallen from the head of the tyrant Nero, was disposed of in rapid succession by contending armies—during the whole of these stirring times Vologeses and his mighty empire took no part in the general movement. And when, after the death of Nero, ambassadors from Parthia arrived in Rome to renew the alliance, they were specially instructed to demand that the memory of that odious emperor should be restored to all honour.

But this feeling of the Parthian monarch in favour of Rome was not generally known, while the wound inflicted on the prestige of Roman supremacy by the events of the war, as well as by the peace which gave Armenia to a Parthian, was felt far and near, but nowhere more strongly than in Judea. In that country—where the mal-administration of Felix and Festus, of Albinus and Florus, kept the public mind in a state of continual ferment—the disgrace of Petus, the success of the Parthians, were hailed with demonstrations of joy but ill concealed. The Zealots became bolder in their enterprises, and on every occasion reminded the people that the Parthians had been the ancient allies of Judea against Rome, and would be glad again to become such. When peace was concluded, the general opinion was that Vologeses would not rest satisfied with the advantages he had already obtained; that the peace was therefore only a truce. When the fears of the tyrant Nero caused Corbulo to be put to death, the report spread that he had outstepped his powers, that Rome repudiated the peace he had concluded, and that the war was about to recommence. In either case the Parthians were considered as the certain allies and auxiliaries of Judea. Monbaz II., King of Adiabene, who with his

brothers had greatly contributed to the capitulation of Petus, professed the Jewish religion, and was looked upon as sure to afford assistance. His influence with Vologeses was exaggerated, and his kinsmen were known to be friendly to the Zealots and their cause.

Josephus relates (Antiq., lib. xx. cap. 8) that in the midst of this public agitation the building of the temple, that for many years had been carried on, was completed, and eighteen thousand hands, that till then had been paid every week with great regularity, were at once thrown out of work. The Sanhedrin, apprehensive that this multitude —idle and therefore dissatisfied—might cause some public disturbance, proposed to King Agrippa to take down, and then rebuild, an ancient gallery adjoining the temple, which was in a dilapidated condition. But the magnitude of the work, (the gallery in question was a stately structure of considerable extent, and four hundred cubits high,) and the consequent expense, seem to have alarmed the king, so that he refused to consent, under the pretext that, as this gallery was connected with the fortifications of the temple-mount, the Romans would not permit its being rebuilt. By way of compromise, he proposed to employ the idle hands on the work of paving Jerusalem with white flag-stones. This measure did not meet with the full concurrence of the Sanhedrin, and could only be partially carried out, so that but a small portion of the workmen found employment. The far greater number, rendered desperate by the fear of starvation, joined the bands of Zealots that infested the open country, and whose enterprises this great accession of numbers rendered more formidable than ever.

The collision between the oppressive arrogance and rapacity of Rome and the popular indignation of down-trodden Judea, which it had taken all the skill and prudence of the Sanhedrin to avert, became inevitable when Gessius Florus was appointed to govern Judea. Josephus

seems at a loss for words strong or bad enough to describe the horrid character and monstrous proceedings of this ruffian, who was even in league with the banditti, and whom the Jews looked upon as a robber and assassin come to plunder and butcher, rather than as a magistrate sent to govern them. The governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, happened to visit Jerusalem during the passover of the year 66, and was besought by the Judeans from all parts of the country to pity their wretched condition, and to remove a tyrannous officer, whose cruel administration was the ruin of their prosperity. Florus, who was present when these complaints were preferred against him, laughed, and made a jest of them; and the governor Gallus, a weak-minded man, contented himself with assuring the Jews that Florus should behave better for the future, a promise which provoked the derision of that truculent procurator. The Jews, finding that all redress was denied to them, grew desperate. The Zealots, who watched the signs of the times, saw that the moment for decision and united action was come, and prepared to take advantage of the very next outbreak of popular indignation. Nor did the injustice of Rome leave them long to wait for the desired occasion.

Cesarea had been built by Herod the Great, the cost having been defrayed by the Jews, and the ground on which it stood having from time immemorial belonged to Judea. The Jews, therefore, claimed the city as their own. But the Syro-Greeks, whom Herod had located in Cesarea, contended that this city was to be considered as Grecian, in proof of which they pointed to the temples and images, which were not found in any Jewish city; and on the strength of this plea they excluded the Jews from the rights of citizenship and all participation in the municipal government. The dispute had caused a lawsuit, which was carried before the emperor Nero, at Rome. A large bribe induced the imperial tribunal to decide in favour of

the Syro-Greeks, and to decree that in a city built on their ground, and for their money, by their king, the Jews were thenceforth to be, not citizens, but aliens, residing there by sufferance, without any rights whatever. When this iniquitous decision became known at Jerusalem, it caused great excitement; and fierce debates arose between those Jews who wished to attack and expel the Romans and those who dreaded their vengeance and therefore recommended submission and peace at any price. In the midst of these contentions, the procurator Florus visited Jerusalem, (66 C. E.,) and finding that the majority of the populace indulged in cries hostile to Rome and its domination, he determined to make the most of the opportunity. Accordingly, he ordered his legionaries to attack and plunder the great market, and three thousand five hundred Jews were slaughtered. But the patience of that people had reached its utmost limits. Pursued by the ferocious soldiers, trampled down by the horses, and cut down by the riders, the populace made a stand, and faced their assailants. The events of the three days of July, 1830, in Paris, were a repetition of what occurred in Jerusalem. Pent up within the narrow streets of that city, attacked in front and rear by an exasperated multitude, overwhelmed by stones and heavy pieces of furniture thrown on them from the house-tops, the Roman troops suffered immensely, and had the greatest difficulty in fighting their way through the dense and furious crowds that beset them. Florus, too cowardly to confront the tempest he had raised, fled from Jerusalem to Cesarea, leaving the Roman garrison in a most perilous situation, and sending messenger after messenger to Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, to implore speedy assistance.

The utmost agitation prevailed in Jerusalem. The Sanhedrin and chief-priests, in mourning garments, implored the people not to provoke the resentment of irresistible

Rome. King Agrippa II.—accompanied by his sister Berenice, who was become very popular, having greatly though unsuccessfully exerted herself with the brutal Florus to prevent or to stop the slaughter of the people—addressed the multitude, and was patiently listened to when he spoke of paying the usual tribute to Rome, and until he proposed that a deputation be sent to Cesarea to make submission to the procurator and invite his return to Jerusalem. Popular indignation burst forth with a violence which nothing could restrain. Agrippa and his attendants were driven from the city. Menahem, a grandson of Judah the Galilean, and hereditary chief of the Zealots, stormed the strong fortress Antonia, put the Roman garrison to the sword, and obtained an immense supply of arms, which he distributed among his followers; whilst Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high-priest, another leader of the Zealots, caused the sacrifices for the prosperity of the emperor to be withheld,[24] which was tantamount to a formal declara-

[24] The Talmud (tr. Gittin, fo. 55, B) ascribes the refusal to offer sacrifice for the emperor to one R' Zachariah ben Abikulos, and that, though construed as a declaration of war and rebellion, it was not intended to be such. The legend relates that a wealthy citizen of Jerusalem, whose name is not given, had an intimate friend, named Kamza, and a mortal enemy, named Bar-Kamza. On the occasion of some family-rejoicing, this unnamed citizen invited all the *élite* of Jerusalem to a banquet; but the messenger who carried out the invitations made a mistake, and called on Bar-Kamza instead of on Kamza. When the guests assembled, Bar-Kamza, who had accepted the invitation as a token of reconciliation offered by his adversary, also presented himself, and entered the hall where the members of the Sanhedrin were already seated. The master of the feast, however, no sooner saw his enemy than he ordered the waiters to turn him out. Bar-Kamza in vain remonstrated, and pleaded that he had come because he had been invited; he offered to bear half or even the whole of the expense of the banquet, rather than publicly be put to shame before the chief men of Jerusalem. But the master of the feast remained implacable, and drove him out with great insult. During this altercation the Rabbins present had remained silent, and had not attempted to interfere in any way to

tion of war. The other fortified posts at Jerusalem held by the Romans were in succession taken by the Jews, and the main body of the garrison so closely pent up in the castle that at length they were obliged to capitulate, on the solemn assurance that their lives should be spared. But this garrison was composed of the legion from Cesarea, that had so long exasperated the people of Jerusalem. Not a man among that legion but was known as a blasphemer, a robber, a murderer, a ravisher,—and they were now to march off unpunished! Great was the rage of the mob; the Zealots, ready as ever for slaughter, took the lead, and as soon as the unfortunate garrison marched out from the citadel, the populace rushed upon them and destroyed them to a man, to the great grief and indignation of the well-intentioned, who in this foul act of perjury and murder beheld a presage of the ruin of Judea. Alarmed in the highest degree at finding the populace so utterly ungovernable, the chief priests and Sanhedrin sent a deputation to the governor of Syria to hasten his arrival. This fact became known, and the rage of the mob was directed against the magnates of Jerusalem. They fled; but

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intercede for Bar-Kamza, who in his rage looked upon their non-intervention as a tacit sanction of the indignities to which in their presence he had been exposed. Burning for revenge against them all, he denounced them as rebels against Cæsar. When asked for proofs of their rebellion, he asserted that they refused to sacrifice for the prosperity of the emperor. To bring this assertion to the test, a three-year-old calf was sent to the temple, with directions to offer it for the welfare of the emperor. On the road to the temple Bar-Kamza contrived to give the calf a scratch on the lip or in the eye, and thus to inflict a blemish, which, though slight and not recognised as fatal by the Roman pontiffs, still under the Levitical Law disqualified the animal from being offered. (Levit. xxii. 20, 22–25.) The Rabbins, however, out of respect to the emperor, were willing to offer the animal, though blemished: but R' Zachariah ben Abikulos succeeded in having it rejected and sent back, lest it should establish a precedent for bringing offerings of faulty animals.

two of the chief men, Ananias, the high-priest, and his brother Hezekiah, together with several members of the Sanhedrin, and some of their friends, were discovered concealed in an aqueduct, carried before Menahem, and by his orders at once put to death; and the palaces of King Agrippa, of the high-priest, of public records, in which all bonds for debts were filed, and several other public buildings and private mansions, were destroyed by fire. But all these deeds of violence, committed with so high a hand by the Zealots, wrought a reaction in the minds of the citizens of Jerusalem. Eleazar, a son of the murdered high-priest, and himself a chief of the Zealots, accused Menahem of tyranny. He, with his lieutenant, Absalon, and several of his leading adherents, were tried, condemned, and executed.

While these struggles and slaughters took place in Jerusalem, the rest of Judea likewise beheld sanguinary conflicts between the Jews and the Romans, and their auxiliaries the Syro-Greeks. At Cesarea, to which city the procurator Florus had fled from Jerusalem, he excited the non-Israelite population suddenly to fall upon and exterminate the Jews, of whom twenty thousand are said to have perished. At Ptolemais, two thousand were slain in a wild riot. Scythopolis was besieged by the insurgent Jews; those resident in the city came forward and offered to assist in the defence. Until then the most perfect good feeling had for centuries subsisted between all the inhabitants of that city. But the ruthless spirit of discord also infested the Scythopolians, and thirteen thousand Jews fell victims to the suspicion and rage of their fellow-citizens. At Alexandria, in Egypt, a collision at a public meeting, at which some Jews were insulted, led to a fearful conflict, in which the Jews, victorious over the populace, invested the amphitheatre, with the intention of burning it down, but were in their turn attacked and slaughtered by the Roman garrison

under Tiberius Alexander, himself an apostate Jew. Fifty thousand Jews are said to have lost their lives during the tumult, in which their houses were plundered and property to an immense amount destroyed. The pages of Josephus (Bell. Jud., lib. ii.) are filled with particulars of the war of extermination that raged throughout the provinces adjoining Judea, and of the horrid retaliation which the Jews inflicted on their enemies wherever they proved the stronger party.

At length Cestius Gallus had completed his tardy preparations, and entered Judea at the head of an army of Romans and auxiliaries, numbering nearly thirty thousand combatants, of whom full five thousand were horse. He was accompanied by King Agrippa, who had joined him with one thousand foot and three thousand horse. The aristocrats of Jerusalem, who had invited and even urged his coming, expected that he would act as a pacificator, and that, while he crushed the furious Zealots, he would protect the peaceably disposed population. But they were mistaken. On his march Cestius Gallus burned towns and villages, and slaughtered every Jew he met with, until he reached Gibeon, about seven miles south of Jerusalem, where he encamped. The tidings of his approach, and of the bloodshed and devastation that marked his road, reached the metropolis during the festival of Tabernacles, at which the greater part of the male population of Judea were assembled for worship at the temple. But so exasperated did the people become at the intelligence, that, though it arrived on a Sabbath, neither the sanctity of the day or of the festival could deter them, but, taking up arms, they sallied forth, and at once attacked the Romans. Such was the fury and success of their onslaught, that the first ranks of the legionaries were broken, the entire body of foot began to give way, and would have been routed, if it had not been for the succour afforded by the large body of

horse, whose threatened charge compelled the Jews to desist from pursuing the advantage they had already obtained. As it was, more than five hundred Romans were slain in this first encounter, while the Jews only lost twenty-two men. (Jos., Bell. Jud., lib. ii., cap. 20, et seq.)

Throughout the whole of this war, the want of cavalry was severely felt by the Jews. Unlike the Parthians and Arabs, who chiefly fought on horseback, the Jewish people, from the rocky nature of their country, possessed but few horses; and it was only when their kings purchased these animals from the adjoining countries that the Jews could bring any considerable bodies of cavalry into the field; whereas, in the insurrections of the people and their risings against foreign oppressors, the Hebrews had to take the field destitute of that powerful arm. As foot-soldiers, however, and in equal numbers, they were second to no troops in the world for steadiness of resistance when on the defensive, or for ardour and *dash* when attacking. This justice is rendered to them by one of the most competent and justly renowned writers on the military tactics of the ancients, who says: "For a length of time, the Hebrews only had infantry, which indeed always constituted the main strength of their armies. The solidity of these foot-soldiers was admirable, and their intrepidity such, that they never hesitated to attack cavalry, however advantageously it might be posted. And, what is indeed surprising, this infantry never degenerated, from the days of Moses till the destruction of Jerusalem." (Chevalier Folard, *Dissertation sur la tactique des Hebreux*, *p.* 3, *Commentaire sur Polybe*, passim.)

The ravages which Gallus had committed in his march to Jerusalem had exasperated the entire people. The discomfiture which his legionaries sustained gave boldness to those Judeans who had not yet taken up arms against him. Everywhere the people rose and occupied the principal

passes on his line of retreat. He himself had found it necessary to undertake a retrograde movement toward the town of Bethoron, as his first position was too near Jerusalem to be safe from sudden attack. This movement, however, had not been executed without considerable loss. His rear-guard was attacked by the Jews, led on by Simon ben Gioras, who subsequently became the first of their chiefs. He put a number of Romans to the sword, and captured several wagons loaded with baggage and munition, which were carried in triumph to Jerusalem. So perplexed did Cestius Gallus become, that, unable to decide on advance or retreat, he remained three days stationary at Bethoron, in deep consultation as to the best means of extricating the Romans from the hornets' nest his cruelties had roused around him. He had already made up his mind to retreat, when emissaries reached him from the leading aristocrats in Jerusalem, who had summoned his aid, assuring him that the inhabitants of that city were disgusted with the excesses of the Zealots; that a reaction was preparing, and that, if he presented himself boldly, the partisans of Rome within the city would rise and insure his success. King Agrippa, willing to participate in the pacification of Judea, despatched two of his principal officers, Phœbus and Burcœus, to offer an amnesty and perfect oblivion of the past, provided the people would at once submit. But the leaders of the insurrection refused to listen to their proposals. And when the two emissaries, who were both well known and popular in Jerusalem, proceeded to address the citizens, the Zealots let fly a shower of arrows at them, which killed Phœbus on the spot, while Burcœus, covered with wounds, had great difficulty in escaping with life.

The partisans of Rome were not slow in taking advantage of the popular indignation called forth by the murder of Phœbus. A violent dissension broke out in the ranks

of the Jews, and when Cestius Gallus advanced, their confusion was such that they rapidly retreated within the precincts of the temple, and left Gallus in possession of the outer city. To this portion of Jerusalem he set fire, and, taking up his own quarters in the royal palace, he prepared to besiege the temple-mount. But the sight of a part of Jerusalem in flames had at once reconciled the Jews. The reaction promised by the partisans of Rome did not take place. On the contrary, citizens and provincials vied with each other in presenting a bold front to the besiegers. The agents of the unsuccessful reactionary party did not escape the resentment of their enraged countrymen, but were compelled to jump over the ramparts; and the Roman general, conscious that, without support from within, his force was inadequate to the reduction of Jerusalem, once more resolved on a retreat. He has been blamed for not having persisted in his attacks, and for not having urged on the siege with greater vigour. Even Josephus seems to share the opinion of the partisans of Rome within the city, that if Gallus had been more energetic and persevering, he would have been sure of success. Now there can be no doubt but that Cestius Gallus was deficient of that bold, resolute presence of mind which characterized the military leaders of Rome. Still, it cannot be denied that his position was most precarious; that each day passed before Jerusalem augmented the danger of his stock of provisions becoming exhausted without any possibility of supply; and that the retreat which after a five days' siege he found so difficult might, after a delay of ten days before or in Jerusalem, have proved utterly impracticable. From the 30th of October until the 4th of November Cestus assaulted Jerusalem, but, finding every attempt to take the temple-mount unsuccessful, the baffled eagles were compelled to relax their hold on the doomed city, and to withdraw from before her, and indeed from nearly all Judea.

The Zealots and their adherents no sooner beheld the retreat of the Roman, than they prepared to pursue and attack him. Their leaders, during the investment of Jerusalem, had evinced great ability. Foremost among them, both on account of their military experience and of their great influence with the people, were the two Parthian princes Cenedæus and Monobazes, nephews of the reigning king of Adiabene. Eleazar the son of Ananias the high-priest, and another Eleazar the son of Simon, ranked high in public estimation; and Simon the son of Gioras vied with them in courage and military enterprise. Other chiefs, Silas, formerly general in the service of King Agrippa, and Niger, "the bravest of the brave," greatly distinguished themselves, and either pressed on the retreating columns of the Romans with destructive zeal, or checked their advance by incessant attacks on their front and flanks. The Romans, beset in all directions, sent forth shrill shrieks of grief and despair, which were responded to with joyous shouts by the eager Jews.

The army of Gallus was in imminent danger of being totally destroyed, and was saved only by a stratagem, and with great loss. Marching and fighting, and acquiring every step of their advance at the price of blood, the Romans with great difficulty regained their former camp at Bethoron. Here their general determined to sacrifice a portion of his forces to save the remainder. He therefore stationed an unusually large number of sentinels around his camp, with orders ostentatiously and loudly to repeat and continue their signals until the Jews should discover the stratagem. Then, taking advantage of the dense obscurity of the night, he led forth his troops, who, carefully avoiding the least noise, passed through the difficult and dangerous defiles of Bethoron without being discovered or molested. But the Romans had to abandon all their baggage, battering train, and provisions, as well as their rear-

guard, which, to the number of four hundred, had to be left in the camp. With the return of daylight the Jews discovered the flight of Gallus, and, after taking possession of his camp and all that it contained, continued their pursuit of the retreating Romans, which did not cease till Cestius reached the strong city of Antipatris, twelve leagues from Jerusalem. The loss of the Romans during this retreat—which nothing but their numerous cavalry saved from degenerating into a flight—exceeded six thousand combatants, and among them several superior officers of distinction; and Suetonius (in Vespasian, § iv.) tells us that the legions sustained another loss, most painful to their feelings of military honour; an Eagle (Roman standard) was captured by the Jews. The survivors of this carnage, dispirited and mutinous, imputed their disgrace to the incompetency of their leader; and Cestius Gallus himself was so overcome by his disaster, that he fell sick and died shortly after his repulse from before Jerusalem.

The triumphant return of the Jewish insurgents was hailed with tumultuous joy by the populace, but with surprise and apprehension by the upper classes, as well as by the peace-loving *bourgeoisie*. There existed at that time, in Jerusalem and throughout Judea, three distinct parties, which, indeed, are to be met with in every age and country at the commencement of violent popular commotions. There was, first, a party of conservatives, not numerous, but very influential, composed of those who have every thing to lose and nothing to gain by a revolution. Then the party of destructives, numerous, but not yet very influential, who have nothing to lose but every thing to gain by a decided change in public affairs. Between these two extremes the mass of the people fluctuate; submissive from habit to the conservatives, but liable to be carried away by the energy of the destructives. In Jerusalem the conservative party was formed by the leading senatorial and sacerdotal fami-

lies, adherents of Rome; the citizens generally and the better class of provincials being their chief supporters. The party of destructives was identified with the Zealots and supported by the masses throughout the provinces. These two parties viewed each other with intense hatred, which, on the part of the conservatives, was strengthened by fear, as the Zealots preached the reign of perfect equality and community of possessions. It was in self-defence that the privileged conservatives had urged on the invasion of Cestius Gallus. Some of their most distinguished chiefs leading members of the Sanhedrin, and Ananias, the high-priest—had already, with several others, been put to death by the Zealots under their hereditary leader, Menahhem. And though Eleazar—himself a Zealot chief, but also a son of the murdered pontiff—had taken advantage of a revulsion of public feeling, and had brought Menahhem to justice—he being the fourth generation of the turbulent family of Hezekiah, who, in lineal succession, had met with an untimely and violent end—still, the avenger himself was eyed with scarcely less fear and suspicion by the magnates of Jerusalem than Menahhem had been. The victory over Cestius Gallus had entirely confounded the hopes of the conservatives, who did not think it within the scope of probability that the half-armed, disorderly rabble that defended the precincts of the temple-mount would be able to resist a Roman army; and when that army had been repulsed, these conservatives could not bring themselves to believe in the possibility of a host of thirty thousand veteran Romans being forced under any circumstances to succumb to an infuriated populace. Up to the last moment the leaders of this party kept up their negotiations with Gessius Florus, the expelled procurator of Judea; and when the triumph of the insurgents was placed beyond a doubt, these conservatives, even the most patriotic among them and those least

compromised by their partisanship for Rome, were placed in a most painful situation.

On the one hand, the furious Zealots, mad with success, threatening instant destruction to whosoever should counsel peace or submission. On the other hand, the irresistible power of Rome, roused and irritated, but not at all weakened, by the discomfiture of Gallus, breathing vengeance, and certain, in all human probability, to overwhelm Judea. Between these implacable enemies, the war, if continued, must become one of extermination. For nothing short of the absolute independence of Judea would satisfy the Zealots; nothing short of the destruction of that association, even to its last member, could secure the submission of Judea, and disarm the Romans. One means of salvation alone seemed to remain; and that was to gain the confidence of the people so as to obtain the supreme direction of public affairs, and then to raise an army having at its head trustworthy officers, and sufficiently strong to suppress the faction of the Zealots, while at the same time it gave weight to the negotiations for amnesty and peace to be carried on with Rome.

The brief interval between the arrival of the news announcing the defeat of Cestius Gallus, and the return to Jerusalem of the victorious insurgents, was ably employed by the chiefs of the conservatives in rallying their partisans and enlisting the citizens of Jerusalem in their support. These citizens had seen with alarm and disgust a rude mob of Galileans, Idumeans, and other rustics, assume dominion over the holy city, and not only violate the sanctity of oaths, at all times held so high by the Jews, in the slaughter of the Roman garrison that had surrendered on the faith of a solemn treaty and assurance of safety, but also, in their blind rage, shed the blood of the most illustrious chiefs of the Sanhedrin and of the priesthood. That mob was now again marching on Jerusalem in all the arrogance

of success; and unless the power was taken out of the hands of the Zealots, there was nothing to prevent their carrying out their destructive and levelling principles so as to reduce the people to general poverty; while at the same time they gave to the war against Rome a character of ferocity that would render impossible any future reconciliation.

To prevent these evils, the citizens determined to make common cause with the conservatives, and were joined by many of the leading provincials. The victors were received with every demonstration of joy; a national convention met in the galleries of the temple, to which the chiefs of the insurgents were summoned. But such members of the Sanhedrin as had not perished or fled to the Romans took their seats as of right in the convention, to which several leading citizens and provincials had been invited. The consequence was that the conservatives commanded an overwhelming majority, which enabled them to take into their hands the entire control of public affairs, and to intrust every office of importance to their own partisans. A supreme council of government was elected, which was to have its seat in Jerusalem, and to direct the internal administration, and the conducting of the war. At the head of this council were placed Joseph the son of Gorion, and the aged priest Ananus, (who must not be confounded with the Sadducee high-priest of the same name, of whom we have already spoken as raised to office by King Agrippa, and become unpopular by his rigid administration of the criminal laws.) Of these two men Ananus represented the directing power of mind, and Joseph the subordinate and executive power of the sword.

Ananus is described by Josephus (Bell. Judaic., lib. iv., cap. 5) as "A most just and venerable man, whose high birth and dignity derived a fresh lustre from his affability and a meekness that put him on a level with the most lowly. He was an ardent lover of liberty, and an admirer of repub-

lican government. He valued peace exceedingly, and felt convinced that Judea must perish unless some favourable arrangement could be entered into with Rome. Had he lived, the war would have terminated by compromise and mutual arrangement; for under such a leader the Jews would have given the Romans so much trouble that the latter would have been induced to grant reasonable terms."

This character, as given by Josephus, is all the more remarkable since it proves that among the conservatives of Judea there were men who sincerely loved their country, and who, while they justly appreciated the danger and difficulties of a contest against Rome, did not despair of so conducting that contest as eventually to save the national honour and welfare of Judea; even though peace with and submission to Rome were the ends they aimed at. Such men there were not a few among the conservatives, though it cannot be denied that among that party there was a numerous and influential section that were so intimately connected with Rome as to value the favour of the emperor much higher than the welfare or even the existence of their people. The members of the council of defence were chosen from among these two sections of conservatives. The Zealots and their adherents were not elected. Indeed, so complete was their exclusion, that of the three chiefs who subsequently assumed and held the supreme command—Simon the son of Gioras, Jochanon the son of Levias of Giscala, and Eleazar the son of Simon,—not one obtained a seat in the council, or any office of trust.

The whole of Judea, with the adjacent provinces of Galilee, Idumea, and Perea across the Jordan, were divided into seven districts, to each of which a commander-in-chief was appointed. Surrounded by these districts, and covered by them, Jerusalem, with its temple, the seat of the chief government, formed the centre of resistance, for the defence of which each district offered numerous fortifications and

strong positions. To the north, which was most exposed to a Roman invasion, four of these armed districts, with their commanders, protected the metropolis; while one to the east, one to the west, and one to the south, were deemed sufficient.

Unfortunately, the frontier, especially to the north, could not be closed, as many frontier districts were inhabited by Syro-Greeks, and other non-Israelites, who had been located there by the insidious policy of Herod the Great, as natural rivals and enemies of the Jews. All these colonists took part with Rome; while the cities, garrisoned by Romans, were so many hostile strongholds, not only on the frontiers, but in the very heart of the land, that required constant vigilance, and a continual division and subdivision of the Jewish forces.

The most important of these districts and military commands—that which would have to bear the first brunt of the war, and which in itself possessed the most formidable means of resisting the weight of the Roman arms—was the wealthy and populous province of Galilee, the chief command in which had been intrusted to Joseph the son of Matthias, the *Cohen* or priest. This man, subsequently so celebrated as JOSEPHUS THE HISTORIAN, and whose public life exercised so pernicious an influence on the fortunes of Judea, was barely thirty years of age when his distinguished abilities and noble birth caused the supreme council to intrust to dim the most important of the seven military commandments. Josephus boasted of his maternal descent from the Asmoneans, while his paternal ancestors had held the highest sacerdotal dignities. His father Matthias, then about sixty years of age, resided in Jerusalem, and his mother subsequently became obnoxious to the people, who accused her of acting as a Roman spy.

Josephus has written an elaborate autobiography, in which every event of his life is carefully related, and placed

in that point of view which he thinks the most favourable to his own reputation. By comparing this autobiography with his history of "the wars in Judea," which, properly speaking, is the history of his own times, and both of which have reached posterity, we are enabled to arrive at something like a correct appreciation of his character and conduct. The history, which was written twenty years before the biography, labours hard to represent Josephus such as he wished to appear to the Judeans, namely, as a true-hearted patriot, who had fought and suffered for his country. The autobiography—which he was driven to publish in self-defence, and when the accusations and recriminations of Justus of Tiberias and others had exposed his ambiguous and unprincipled machinations during his public life—represents Josephus such as he wished to appear to the Romans, namely, as their devoted friend and active partisan, whose policy and self-sacrifice had greatly facilitated their success and the subjugation of Judea. Monsieur Salvador, (Domination Romaine, vol. ii., c. 8, et passim) taxes Josephus with deliberate treason against Judea, and maintains that he only accepted the command in order to paralyze the defence and to ruin the cause of his country. We can hardly subscribe to this harsh judgment, though it cannot be denied that, whatever may have been the motives and plans of Josephus, his double-dealing and selfishness helped to destroy Jerusalem. But it appears to us that Josephus's great fault was a want of fixed principles and firmness of character. He was extremely selfish, but vain rather than ambitious, and, with the weakness inseparable from vanity, he was continually shifting and changing his purpose; trying to stand well with the Jews and also with the Romans, frittering away time that was most valuable, and means that ought to have been altogether devoted to the defence of his country, in the pursuit of objects altogether personal to himself, and thus

losing sight of Rome and its vast preparations, in order to maintain himself against the rivalry of Jochanon, the son of Levias of Giscala. We doubt whether Josephus was a traitor of set and deliberate purpose, but we are certain he was not an upright, single-minded man, and that—great as were his abilities as a speaker and a writer, a soldier and a statesman—still, in patriotism, honesty, bravery, and enterprise, he was greatly excelled by most of his colleagues. Among them the first rank is due to Eleazar, the son of the high-priest Ananias, who commanded in the southern district of Idumea; and John the Essenian, who was charged with the defence of Thamna, the western district extending along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The fact that this John was an Essenian—a sect so strongly averse to strife and bloodshed—proves how general must have been the exasperation against Rome, how intense and universal the determination to resent the oppressive rapacity of her representatives.

While the Judeans were making these preparations, Rome was not idle. The tidings that Cestius Gallus had been defeated reached the emperor Nero in the beginning of December, 66, at Athens, where he was sojourning at the time, and where he gloried in exhibiting before those great masters of the arts, the Greeks, his own personal talents as a chariot-driver, musician, actor, and versifier. To obtain the applause of Athenians was the reward of his performances of which he was most ambitious; but, irksome as he thought it, his private affairs were obliged, for a brief space, to yield to the duties and cares of empire. Judea in open rebellion was an object of terror to superstitious Rome, where a prediction was hawked about that from Judea should come forth men who were to obtain dominion over the Roman empire. Accordingly, as Suetonius relates, (in Vespasian, § iv.,) the subjugation of Judea called for a powerful army and an able general.

The peace which, two years before, had terminated the war against the Parthians, had, like the war itself, been neither glorious nor advantageous to Rome, and greatly injured the prestige of her power and the terror of her arms. And though Vologeses, King of Parthia, for reasons which we have already related, appeared sincere in his alliance with Rome, it was to be feared that the great feudatories of the Parthian empire, no longer restrained by their dread of Corbulo, might, in spite of their king, take part with the Judeans. Some of these feudatories, Jews by religion, had already drawn the sword against Rome, and encouraged the Jews by loudly promising them help from beyond the Euphrates. But while thus the rebellion in Judea, supported or not by Parthian succour, rendered it necessary to intrust great power to the commander of the East, the suspicions of Nero, so fatal to the great Corbulo, did not permit the emperor to select for that command any man of weight in the empire or of recognised political ability. It was necessary to find a general sufficiently skilful in war to fight and conquer for the emperor, but so powerless in peace, so void of the influence arising from high birth and high fame, as not to excite the jealousy of Nero. Such a man happened just then to be in attendance on the emperor at Athens.

Flavius Vespasianus was the younger son of Flavius Sabinus, a tax-gatherer and usurer, and the grandson of a centurion who had fled from the battle of Pharsalia. His mother, however, was more respectably connected. From her he took his name, Vespasianus, and her brother was a senator. Young Vespasian began his career in arms in Thrace, and soon became distinguished for his bravery and military abilities. He speedily rose to the rank of tribune or commander of a legion, and successively held the office of *questor* (receiver and paymaster-general) in the island of Crete and in the province of Cyrene. According to

the institutions and usages of Rome, civil and military offices were so blended, that, in order to rise to eminence, it was necessary a man should pass through the regular gradation of both. And as these civil offices were held only for one year, the institution served to train a multitude of placemen, qualified to take office in various parts of the great Roman empire. On his return from Cyrene, Vespasian with great difficulty obtained the office of *edile* or police-magistrate in the city of Rome. The next step on the ladder of promotion—that of *prætor*, or superior judge—he found it still more difficult to attain. He stood six years successively for the office before he could obtain it. The opposition to his appointment arose from the senate, and was caused by a want of respectability in his private life. He had married a woman of no reputation, who was known to have lived in a state of concubinage with a Roman knight. It had even been said that she was not freeborn; and as no bondwoman or alien could, according to the laws of Rome, contract a valid marriage, Flavia Domitilla, previous to her marriage with Vespasian, in order to prove her birth and citizenship, had to be claimed before the judges by her father, Flavius Liberalis, who held no higher rank than that of clerk to a *questor* or city receiver. The name of the Flavian, which subsequently distinguished the imperial dynasty of Vespasian, was thus derived from his wife as well as from his father.

This unbecoming marriage provoked the indignation of the Senate, of which proud body the office of *prætor* would constitute Vespasian a member, and to which his own low birth proved no recommendation. Accordingly, year after year his appointment was frustrated, and the baffled candidate for office did not succeed until, by vile adulation to the favourites of Caligula, and by taking part against the Senate in the struggle that preceded the recognition of

Claudius as emperor, he had secured the support of the freedmen who, in the name of that weak monarch, governed the Roman world. After the expiration of his year of office as prætor, Vespasian was appointed to a superior command in the war of Germany, from whence he was sent, as the emperor's lieutenant, to Britain, where he fought the gallant Caractacus, who was subdued and sent prisoner to Rome. For his British exploits Vespasian obtained the honours of a *triumph*, was appointed consul and pontifex, and then sent as governor to the great and wealthy province of Africa. Scandal-mongers, instigated by his rivals for office, asserted that he was detested by the provincials; but Suetonius, who is reliable authority, inasmuch as he does not flatter the Flavians, declares that he conducted his administration with great integrity, (in Vespas., § iv.) Certain it is, however, that—notwithstanding the avarice which formed the great reproach of his character as emperor, and contrary to the general practice of Roman governors, who, after administering the affairs of a province during a few years, came back with immense wealth—Vespasian returned from Africa so poor that not only was he obliged to mortgage a portion of his small patrimony to his elder brother, Flavius Sabinus, but also to carry on a traffic in beasts of burden, which gained for him the nickname of *muleteer*, and by no means raised him in public estimation. Vespasian, with many other office-hunters, had followed in the train of Nero to Athens; and there it was that a few moments of slumber exposed the veteran, then in his fifty-seventh year, to a danger greater than any he had encountered during all his numerous campaigns. For though it was neither on the battle-field nor in the council-chamber that sleep had closed his heavy eyelids, that was no palliation of an offence all the more heinous since it was committed at a theatrical representation, and while the most powerfully tragic of all actors, Nero himself, was perform-

ing. It required the urgent intercession of some of the emperor's favourite minions to appease his wrath and indignation; and it is doubtful whether that intercession would have saved Vespasian's life, (Tacit., Annal., lib. xvi., § v.; Sueton., in Vespas., § iv.) had not the tidings from Judea stayed Nero's hand, by causing him to reflect that this Vespasian was the very man for the occasion—the most trustworthy, from his abilities and experience, the least dangerous, from his poverty, low birth, and want of political influence or ambition. In this last respect, however, Nero proved mistaken. For, within three years from Vespasian's appointment to the command in Judea, the high-born Nero perished miserably, and the ancient and illustrious family of the Cæsars became extinct; while Vespasian, the low-bred muleteer, placed on his own brow the imperial diadem, and bequeathed it to his two sons successively.

Titus, the eldest of these sons, then about twenty-seven years old, was with his father at Athens when he was appointed to the command, and by his direction proceeded to Alexandria, where he placed himself at the head of two legions that were carried to Judea by sea; while Vespasian himself travelled by land to Ptolemais, where he had fixed his head-quarters and concentrated all his troops and auxiliaries. Here he devoted the first three months of the year 67 to organize his army and to prepare his invasion. The number of combatants under his command after the junction of Titus and his two legions was full sixty thousand, exclusive of the numerous and destructive train of camp-followers that usually attended a Roman army. Of these, thirty thousand horse and foot were Roman veterans; while Herod Agrippa, King of Northern Palestine or Iturea, Sohemus, King of Lebanon, and Antiochus, King of Comagene, each furnished two thousand archers and one thousand horse; and the king of the Nabathene Arabs, five thousand foot and one thousand horse. Formidable as this army was from its numbers, it was

still more so from the order and discipline which the practised skill and stern eye of the general had introduced. It is from the model of this army, and profiting by the conversations he had with Vespasian and Titus, that Josephus has drawn that remarkable description of the military organization and conduct of the Romans which we find in his history, and which is equal to the best delineation of the ancients, (compare Joseph., Bell. Judaic., lib. iii., with Polybius, lib. vi.,) both as to importance of ideas and interest of details; is, moreover, the guide and instructor from which later writers have chiefly derived their knowledge of Roman military organization. For this task no man could be more competent than Josephus. His patriotism may be doubtful; his honesty as a man, and faithfulness as a historian, may be questioned; but it is impossible to deny that he possessed talents of a very high order, and that, as a general and a statesman, his abilities entitled him to that respect and favour with which he always was treated by those excellent judges of merit, Vespasian and Titus.

While these formidable forces assembled at Ptolemais, on the frontier of the province of Galilee, which Josephus had been sent to defend, and in which, as he himself relates, (Bell. Jud., lib. ii., cap. 20,) it was expected he should raise and organize one hundred thousand fighting men to keep the field, and should also strengthen the fortifications of the various towns, it may be interesting to know how he prepared to meet the imminent danger to which his country and the province under his command were exposed. The whole of the winter had been passed in intestine broils and dissensions. Beyond one body of eight thousand men, specially attached to his person and in his pay, Josephus raised no troops. He forbade the Galileans to attack the Roman garrisons at Sephoris and other important strongholds throughout his district; but he did not exert his authority to compel the chiefs of Galilee to live at peace with

each other and with himself. The council at Jerusalem, alarmed by his equivocal conduct, sent four commissioners to dispossess him of his command, and to bring him to Jerusalem; but he raised the standard of rebellion against the council, took the commissioners prisoners after an obstinate combat; and when Vespasian was ready to commence operations, Josephus had no army in the field, had added nothing to the strength of the fortified cities, and the rich and populous province of Galilee lay before the invaders with no other means of defence than what the enthusiasm of the inhabitants, and the situation of some naturally strong cities, could afford. All this had raised the highest indignation throughout the whole country, not only against Josephus, but also against the party which had appointed him; an indignation still more heightened by the fact that his province—the most important, as the most exposed—was also the only one in which civil dissensions had absorbed the energies of the people, had wasted the time, and caused the needful means of defence to be neglected.[25] The example

[25] During the winter an attempt was made by John the Essene to surprise Azotus, which miscarried, and in which that commander lost his life. Another attempt, led on by Niger, also proved a failure, chiefly through the superiority of the Romans in cavalry. Shortly before the invasion of Vespasian, the Galileans compelled Josephus, against his own inclination, to attack Sephoris, the principal Roman stronghold in that district. The city was taken, and the inhabitants, with the garrison, took refuge in the citadel. But a panic raised by Josephus himself, by means of a false report that a considerable Roman army had come to the relief of the citadel, seized on the Jews, and caused them hastily to evacuate Sephoris, that they might not be exposed to a double attack in front and rear. The garrison took advantage of this panic to regain possession of the city, and to close the gates against the Jews. Vespasian, on hearing of the siege of Sephoris, despatched Placidus, governor of Ptolemais, with a detachment of five thousand men, to reinforce the besieged. Although Placidus succeeded in entering Sephoris, Josephus attempted a second attack by escalade, and obtained possession of a portion of the city wall. But the garrison soon recovered from its first surprise, rallied, and prepared for an obstinate de-

Josephus had set of resisting the authority of the great council was not lost upon the party of the Zealots, who once more prepared to assert their right to take the lead.

In the midst of these agitations Vespasian opened the campaign, at the head of his well-appointed army, to oppose which there was no Jewish force in the field. Hence the campaign became a succession of sieges, in which each town, left to its own resources, had to resist the whole weight of the Roman army. For Vespasian, profiting by the calamitous experience of Cestius Gallus, determined to reduce the whole country before he attacked Jerusalem; and as he was in no hurry to terminate a war which would be sure to enrich him, and also to keep him out of the dreaded presence of Nero, he chalked out to himself a plan of operations according to which three or four years of slow but certain progress were to subdue the whole country. The first town he attacked was Gabara; but, though it offered no resistance—being destitute of any Jewish garrison—Vespasian caused all the inhabitants to be slaughtered, the town to be pillaged, and then set on fire. The same fate was inflicted on the surrounding villages. It is Josephus who acquaints us with these horrid cruelties of the Roman general, and it is most instructive to notice the unconcerned and matter-of-course manner in which Josephus, writing at Rome, and under the eye of Vespasian and Titus, speaks of these Roman acts of cruelty and slaughter, and to contrast it with the pompous and decla-

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fence. But, though Josephus relates that he had not yet lost one man, he deemed it prudent, "as he was not acquainted with the locality," to renounce the enterprise. (Jos., Vit., p. 36, edit. Havercamp.)

During the winter many of the principal inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judea quitted the country and sought refuge with the Romans. These fugitives kept up a constant correspondence with their dependants in Judea, by means of whom they received early and correct intelligence of every movement projected by the Jews, while at the same time they disheartened the Judeans with alarming rumours of all kinds.

matory tirade in which he indulges whenever he describes and condemns the acts of desperation with which his own countrymen sought to retaliate on their ferocious invaders. At the very time that the struggle in Judea was commencing, a similar struggle was raging in Britain. There, likewise, the atrocious conduct of Roman governors had driven the natives to take up arms under Boadicea, the widowed queen of the Iceni. It is a singular but frightful coincidence, that while the Romans slaughtered thousands of unresisting Jews—aged, infants, women—the Britons should have burned London, a Roman colony, and put seventy thousand Roman women, children, and aged men, to the sword; a frightful retaliation this, in the far West, for cruelties practised in the East. But one short campaign, one decisive battle, tamed the fierceness of the Britons; while years of slaughter could not subdue the Jews. The former had not, and at that time could not have, the enduring perseverance, resulting from high principle, that sustained the Jews in the unequal conflict.

The first conquest of Vespasian, Gabara, had been an easy one; the next, Jotopatha, cost him more labour and blood. During forty-five days, Vespasian exhausted all that the science and valour of Rome could supply of means of attack. Josephus had cast himself into Jotopatha, and, once there, he was not permitted to quit that fortress. In vain he tried to persuade the garrison to let him depart. In vain he promised to raise an army for their relief. The most valiant leaders of the Galileans had thrown themselves into Jotopatha, and they were determined their slippery governor should share their fate. (Bell. Jud., lib. iii., cap. 7.) This stronghold was situated on a high rock, inaccessible on three sides, and strongly fortified on the fourth side and only outlet. But so closely was the place invested that it was difficult to conceive how Josephus could leave without either falling into the

hands of the Romans, or voluntarily joining them. The defence was equally gallant and skilful, and, for a time, successful; while every attack was repulsed and every stratagem frustrated by the besieged. Even Vespasian himself was wounded. The merit Josephus takes altogether to himself, as governor; but it is certain he had at his side those who would take care to support him to the utmost so long as he did his duty. The only drawback to the strength of Jotopatha was the want of water. Day by day the rations became less. The excessive heat at the end of June, and the want of water, combined with the continued combats they had to sustain, began to exhaust the garrison. An effort to relieve the beleaguered fortress was attempted by the garrison and citizens of Jaffa, but failed. From prisoners made on this occasion, Vespasian learned the extreme state of suffering to which the garrison of Jotopatha was reduced, and therefore determined to turn the siege into a blockade, with the reasonable expectation of starving the Jews into a surrender. They still held out, when a deserter assured Vespasian that an escalade attempted shortly before break of dawn would be crowned with certain success; as at that hour the sentinels, overcome by fatigue, and expecting shortly to be relieved, were no longer watchful. The treacherous counsel was adopted. The breaches were stormed. The sleeping sentinels were cut down; the Romans burst into the town, and the work of slaughter began. Few, very few of the inhabitants escaped. Twelve hundred captives of every age and sex were spared. Forty thousand were slaughtered.[26]

The governor, Josephus, escaped into a cavern, where

[26] Cæsar, in his Commentaries, (Bell. Gallic., lib. ii., § 29,) relates the storming of a stronghold in which the inhabitants of Namur and Hainault had sought refuge against the Roman invaders, and which, for its natural advantages, bears a striking resemblance to Jotopatha; though the numbers who submitted to captivity were very different. The Belgians at

he found that forty of the garrison, with provisions for a few days, had provided a shelter. We must refer to his history for the narrative of his own future fortunes: how Vespasian, not finding him among the slain or captives, and suspecting he might be concealed among the caverns, sent a Roman officer, who had formerly known Josephus, to the mouth of the cave in which he was, to promise him safety if he would surrender; how Josephus in vain tried to persuade his men to consent; how he was more successful when he proposed that, since no means of escape remained, they should, in order to avoid the sin of suicide, cast lots for two men who should stab the rest, and then kill each other; how he, as of priestly race, was appointed to cast the lot, and how, with his usual skill, he succeeded in making that duty devolve upon himself and the most feeble-minded of his companions; how, when the fatal tragedy was completed, and the two stood sole survivors among their immolated brethren; how, when all this was done, Josephus persuaded his companion to go with him and surrender to the Romans; how he played the prophet, promised the empire to Vespasian, and was taken into his favour and confidence. For all these details we must refer to himself. (Ibid., cap. 8.)

The capture of Jotopatha, and the surrender of Josephus, were followed by the conquest of all Galilee—a province possessed of immense means of resistance, but which Josephus had neglected to organize. We do not know whether he acquainted Vespasian with the backward state in which the preparations of the Galileans had been left;

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first were very obstinate; at length, the besieged lost heart and treated for a surrender, but broke the treaty. Their alleged treachery so exasperated Cæsar, that, having assaulted and taken the place, he ordered all that resisted to be cut down, and the captives to be sold as slaves. The number of slain is not given, but the captives exceeded fifty-three thousand.

but it is certain that the activity and vigour with which Vespasian conducted the campaign—and which contrasts so strongly with the indolence and languor of his subsequent operations—left the Galileans no time for organizing their forces. We may therefore assume that he was aware of their condition, and determined, by simultaneous attacks, to prevent their concentrating on any point an army capable of taking and keeping the field.

While yet engaged in the blockade of Jotopatha, Vespasian despatched Trajan, the father of the subsequent emperor, against Joppa in the mountains, where the Galileans began to assemble in arms. On his approach, the Jews sallied forth to meet him, but were, by repeated charges of horse, driven back within the fortifications, consisting of a double wall that surrounded the city. But so rapid was the pursuit, that the Jews and Romans entered pell-mell through the outer gates and over the external wall. When the troops on guard beheld this state of confusion, they became alarmed lest the city should at once be carried. They therefore closed the inner gates with so much precipitation, that they shut out the greater part of the force that had sallied forth, which, pent up in the narrow space between the two walls, was destroyed by the Romans.

After this first advantage, Trajan invited Titus to head the assault, and thus to acquire the honour of having taken the city. The townsmen, unable to defend the rampart, continued the fight in the narrow streets, and were powerfully assisted by their wives, who from the house-tops threw all manner of missiles on the heads of the assailants. After six hours of carnage, the sword of the Roman prevailed; the defenders were cut down to a man, the women and children consigned to slavery.

At the same time that a body of Galileans was assembling at Joppa in the mountains, another similar assemblage was forming on Mount Gerizim, amid the ruins of the Sa-

maritan temple. To dislodge and scatter this assemblage, Vespasian despatched Cerealis with a sufficient force. That general, however, did not attempt to force the Jewish stronghold, but dug a deep trench round the mountain, and so closely invested the Jews, that their supplies of food, and especially of water, were soon exhausted; many perished; many others laid down their arms, and surrendered. Those who persisted to the last were attacked and slaughtered, but not without inflicting great loss on their assailants.

On his march to Jerusalem, Cestius Gallus had destroyed the city of Joppa, or Jaffa, on the shores of the Mediterranean. After his repulse and retreat from Judea, the supreme council of defence caused this important maritime city to be in part rebuilt, and made it the station of a bold and enterprising body of mariners, whose wives and children dwelt among the ruins, while the men were employed on board of numerous vessels which the council had fitted out and armed, and which proved very annoying to the Romans. These cruisers—whom Josephus, in his zeal for Rome, designates as pirates (ibid., cap. 9)—intercepted the Roman supplies from Egypt and Syria, and kept the coasts of these two countries in a constant state of alarm. A division of Romans, despatched against Jaffa, found it not difficult to scale the walls and to penetrate into the town during the night. The Jews, not sufficiently numerous to resist the threatened attack, trusted for safety—as the Athenians had done when their city was assailed by the hosts of Xerxes—to their wooden walls, and embarked their wives and children in their ships. But the elements proved more destructive than the sword of the Romans. A sudden hurricane shattered the ships, or drove them on the rocks which line that iron-bound coast. The Roman commander had stationed archers on these rocks, whose arrows slaughtered the wretches that had escaped ship-

wreck. Upward of four thousand human beings were consigned to a watery grave. The city of Joppa was again destroyed; one portion only, the upper town, was fortified and occupied by a Roman garrison, who, in obedience to the orders they had received, devastated the adjoining country with fire and sword, and drove the inhabitants to seek shelter in Jerusalem.

During the heat of the summer, Vespasian spent three weeks at Cesarea-Philippi, the residence of King Agrippa II., who, with his sister Berenice, entertained the Roman commander so splendidly as almost to ruin the king, whose most productive territories were occupied by the Jewish insurgents; while he himself was accused by all the petty princes, his neighbours, who hoped to profit by his fall, of being lukewarm in the cause of Rome. As thus his present and future existence was altogether dependent on the favour of the Roman commander-in-chief, King Agrippa spared neither expense nor pains to ingratiate himself with Vespasian. In this purpose he was greatly aided by Titus, the son of Vespasian. This young Roman had become acquainted with Berenice, the king's sister, at Ptolemais, and there entered into a tender *liaison* with her, which ripened into a confirmed attachment during his stay at Cesarea-Philippi. By her means Titus was induced to befriend her brother, the king; who, on his part, was careful not to thwart the inclinations of so powerful an auxiliary, and therefore encouraged, or at all events did not check, an intercourse so little honourable to himself or sister. As the first-fruits of his complaisance, Vespasian restored to him the city of Tiberias, the most considerable in his dominions, which had made common cause with the insurgents. During the conflict between Josephus and the supreme council, this city had suffered so greatly that it could offer no resistance to Vespasian, who, at the entreaty of King Agrippa, spared the inhabitants.

This was an easy, bloodless conquest; the next operations of the Roman commander were more difficult and destructive. On the shores of Lake Tiberias, fronting each other, stood the two fortified cities of Tarichæa and Gamala, the former to the south-west, the latter to the south-east. These two cities were successively attacked and carried by the Romans. The defence of each was obstinate in the extreme, and cost the Romans numbers of men; a loss for which they took ample vengeance on the besieged. At Tarichæa they contented themselves, after the capture of the city, with sending their able-bodied prisoners to slavery, putting *only* twelve hundred aged men to the sword. At Gamala the Romans suffered much. The inhabitants of that city were famed of old as the most warlike and valorous of the Galileans; it was, moreover, the native home of Judah, the founder of the Zealots' association. The defence they made against the Romans was excelled by no other throughout the whole of the war. After successfully resisting a seven months' siege by the troops of King Agrippa, Gamala was attacked by Vespasian in person; and it was not till the entire population of nine thousand souls had perished, that the Romans could master the city. An attack on the Jews assembled at Mount Tabor, and the capture of Giscāla, completed the conquest of Galilee. The command in the last-named city had been held by Jochanan the son of Levias, the great rival of Josephus, and best known by the designation "of Giscala." This chief, whom Josephus describes as the most artful, unprincipled, and dangerous of men, had been in arms against the Romans long before the general insurrection broke out in Judea. Exasperated by the tyranny of the last procurators, he had organized a strong body of chosen warriors, and successfully maintained himself in the mountains, carrying on a predatory war, as Mattathias the Asmonean had done before him. When, against his opinion and ad-

vice, his native city Giscala prematurely rose against the Romans, but was taken by them and burnt, he raised a force sufficient to expel the invaders, and rebuilt the city, which he strongly fortified. Summoned to surrender, he deceived Titus into a suspension of hostilities, profiting by which he himself, his troops, and his partisans, escaped to Jerusalem, though a number of his followers were overtaken and cut down by the Romans. From all parts of Galilee fugitives had flocked to Jerusalem; and when Jochanan arrived, he found the metropolis of Judea distracted by a furious civil war raging within her.

When the first tidings arrived of the stout defence made by Josephus and Jotopatha, even the Zealots began to alter their opinion of his previous conduct, ascribing it no longer to treachery, but to error in judgment. His friends in the council took credit to themselves for having appointed so gallant and able a governor; and all parties in anxious suspense awaited the progress of the siege. When the news arrived that Jotopatha had fallen, and that the heroic governor and his brave garrison had buried themselves beneath its ruins, great was the grief at Jerusalem, but greater still the enthusiasm. All parties vied in doing posthumous honours to the hero of Jotopatha and his valiant compeers. The personal enemies of Josephus, anxious to do justice to his memory, joined the council which decreed a public mourning of thirty days; while the poets of Judea excited the people by laments, in which they sung the glory of the true-hearted chiefs who had died for their country.

But the greater the public enthusiasm had been, the more terrible was the reaction, the more ferocious the rage, when the news at length arrived that Josephus, the sole survivor of the defenders of Jotopatha, was in the camp of the Romans, the confidant, the adviser of Vespasian. All the rumours of his former treasons, all the reports of the treachery of the party that had intrusted him with com-

mand, at once revived with tenfold force. He himself was beyond the immediate reach of justice, but his friends, his connections, his party, were still in Jerusalem. Their past treachery must be punished, their future treason be prevented. The Zealots rose as one man. The fugitives from Galilee, who had fled from the fire and sword of Vespasian, joined them, and scenes of the most frightful violence took place. In the course of this history we have had occasion to notice how truly human nature, in all ages, remains the same; how, notwithstanding the advance of civilization, man, when strongly excited by rage or fear, becomes an animal more ferocious and more dangerous than lion or tiger. When, during the French Revolution, the news arrived at Paris that La Fayette had quitted the army, the mob of Paris rose and dragged to prison hundreds of innocent, high-born, and wealthy men, suspected of being friends to Lafayette; and on the second of September, 1792, and the three days following, all these persons were murdered: so likewise in Jerusalem. The news of Josephus's defection armed the mob, who, led on by the Zealots, broke into the houses of several chiefs who were accused as partisans of Josephus, and hurried them to prison. The leaders of the Zealots—Eleazer the son of Simon at their head—organized themselves as a council in opposition to the established government; like the Jacobins who formed the municipality in Paris. The numbers of exasperated provincials who had sought refuge in Jerusalem adhered to this new council, which inaugurated its authority by sending assassins into the prison, who slaughtered the prisoners amid the loud acclamations of the Zealot mob and the provincials. The next act was to proclaim perfect equality among laymen for all offices of state, among priests for all dignities of priesthood. These last were to be distributed by lot, and the chiefs so managed that the high-priesthood, which so long had been hereditary in the principal families of Jerusa-

lem, fell to one Phanias the son of Shamai, a stone-cutter, who, though of priestly descent, was a rude, illiterate man, and was actually following the plough when, to his great surprise, the insignia of the highest office were presented to him. Hitherto all the efforts of the regular government to rouse the citizens or national guard of Jerusalem, composed of housekeepers, to arm in self-defence, had been vain; but this last act of the Zealots was looked upon as an outrage on religion. All the citizens took up arms at once. The Zealots, in possession of the temple-fortress, did not wait to be attacked; they sallied forth, and a series of furious combats commenced. The citizens of Jerusalem, more numerous than the Zealots and their adherents, and now thoroughly roused at seeing strangers to the holy city, rude refugees from Galilee, take upon themselves the supreme rule of Jerusalem and the temple, fought with the energy of despair. They were led on by the most eminent and bravest of their chiefs—Ananus, Joseph ben Gorion, Niger, Zechariah ben Baruch—who vied with each other in animating and skilfully directing the citizens. The Zealots were at length forced to retreat within the first enclosure of the temple; from thence they were driven into the temple-fortress, where they were surrounded and blockaded. Ananus, the president of the regular government, seeing his party victorious, ordered the attack to cease, and after some discussion carried his point. He neither wished to turn the temple into a slaughter-house, nor yet to destroy gallant men, his own countrymen, who would prove both willing and able to defend their country, if they could only be brought to listen to reason. Six thousand armed citizens were stationed at the different issues from the temple-mount, to watch the Zealots and keep them closely invested. These city militia-men were to be regularly relieved, and no inhabitant to be exempted from military duty. But the wealthy were soon tired of these unwonted exertions.

As their turn of service came, they hired labourers, villagers, and whoever else they could get, to do duty for them. Most of these had a fellow-feeling for the besieged Zealots, who no longer were cut off from all communication with the country, but found means to send messengers to rouse the populace south of Jerusalem.

Such was the state of affairs in Jerusalem when Jochanan of Giscala and his followers arrived. As he had long been on terms of intimacy and friendship with R. Simon ben Gamaliel, the president of the Sanhedrin, Jochanan was readily received into the confidence of the supreme council. And as he was supposed to exercise great influence over the Galileans, who formed so great a portion of the besieged Zealot force, he was deputed to negotiate with them and to bring them to terms. Josephus accuses him of betraying his trust; that instead of trying to calm and conciliate the Zealots, he added to their exasperation by assuring them that the intentions of Ananus and the council were to destroy the Zealots to a man, and then to surrender Jerusalem to the Romans; and that the only means of counteracting these cruel and treasonable designs was to apply for instant help to the patriot population south of Jerusalem. (Bell. Jud., lib. iv., cap. 3.) It is impossible to decide whether this accusation be true, wholly or in part; for, on the one hand, the bitter hatred of Josephus against Jochanan is so manifest that it deprives his statements of all claim to credibility whenever he speaks of his rival; while, on the other hand, though Jochanan kept aloof from the besieged Zealots, even after their triumph, his ambition was boundless, and might have tempted him to aspire to that supremacy in Jerusalem which subsequently he attained.

But, whoever originated the idea of summoning the Southerners to Jerusalem, the application proved but too successful; within a few days twenty thousand countrymen

in arms were at the gates of Jerusalem. These men came from the southern province named Idumea by Josephus, and which comprised the ancient territory of the tribes of Simon, Dan, and part of Judah; but they found the gates closed and the walls lined by armed citizens. The government attempted to remonstrate with these new assailants. The most popular man in Judea, Joshua ben Gamla—who had been high-priest, and whose services to the cause of education had endeared him to the people—was the delegate chosen for that purpose by the council. But his efforts proved vain. The furious Southerners refused to hear him. They denied the right of the council to close the gates of the Jewish metropolis against any Jews; and while Joshua indignantly repudiated the idea of surrender to the Romans, the Southern chiefs insisted that fear was an evidence of guilt, and that the council, by the refusal to admit them into the city, abundantly proved that treason was contemplated, and that punishment was expected and dreaded. As the insurgents remained deaf to reason, the city militia of Jerusalem had to guard against an enemy in the heart of the city and another at the gates. The citizens were sufficiently numerous to perform this double duty; and the council, which remained in session all day, and in turns watched by night, fully expected that, when the first excitement of the Idumeans should have evaporated, they would grow tired of being encamped outside the walls, and would eventually yield to proposals of peace. But one of those events which no human prudence can foresee, and human skill can but seldom guard against, frustrated all their expectations, and led to the utter ruin of the conservative party.

The public guards had been doubled, the vigilance of the governors had not been suspended; but one evening Ananus, whose turn of duty it was, worn out by watching and care, had retired to his mansion to snatch a few hours' rest.

A hurricane suddenly broke out—one of those fearful, irresistible hurricanes of the East, when storm, rain, and thunder combine their terrors, when the tempest howls, the lightnings flash midst torrents of rain, and the earth seems to rock; when the wildest animals lose their ferocity, and whatever lives and moves seeks shelter; such a hurricane—frightful beyond the memory of man—burst out. The Southerners outside the walls were terrified, and looked upon it as a sign of the divine wrath against them. The council doubted not but that the hurricane would hasten the departure of the Idumeans; but the chiefs of the Zealots judged differently. They saw at once the advantage they might derive from the storm, which, in their impious fanaticism, they looked upon as a direct intervention of Providence in their favour. The most hardy, armed with saws which they found in the stores of the temple, began rapidly, but noiselessly, to cut through the wooden bars that had been fastened to the temple-gates from the outside. The uproar of the elements prevented the city militia from hearing the noise; besides, among the militia on guard there were many ready to favour the efforts of the Zealots. The temple-gates once opened, an armed party sallied forth, and by ones and twos, so as not to excite suspicion, glided through the city and met again at one of the gates. The city guard, forgetful of its duty, had sought shelter against the hurricane. Whether the gate was opened to the Zealots by treachery, or whether they forced it open, is uncertain, but it was opened; and while some of them held possession, another body marched hurriedly toward the Idumean forces. These, at the approach of a band of armed men, were alarmed, lest it should be an attack from the city; but the Zealots soon made themselves known, and communicated their tidings. At the head of the Idumeans they returned, passed through the gate they had secured, and at once proceeded to attack

the city militia that blockaded the temple-mount. The besieged Zealots, at a given signal, sallied forth from the temple, and the citizens, unprepared for so sudden and violent an attack in front and rear, were cut down or dispersed. The most important posts in the city were carried, and the houses of the principal inhabitants marked for proscription. Wild shrieks of horror, more frightful than the roar of the elements, were heard throughout the doomed city. Amid the darkness and confusion, all military organization was at an end; there was no one to take the command, there were none to obey. Ananus, who at the first alarm hastened to the scene of action, had been cut down; the other chiefs, as they left their own houses, were waylaid, and either killed on the spot or made prisoners. It was less a night of battle than of wholesale assassination. The return of daylight showed the extent of the slaughter already committed; but, so far from moderating the frenzy of the Zealots, the sight of what had been done only excited them to fresh deeds of horror. A day of vengeance to the Lord and to the people was proclaimed. The dignitaries of the temple and of the law were especially obnoxious to the Zealots, and fell early victims to their rage. R. Simon ben Gamaliel, the nassi or president of the Sanhedrin, Joshua ben Gamla, the high-priest and patron of education, were murdered amid the exulting shouts of "Death to the traitors!" The military governor, Joseph ben Gorion, and the brave Niger, had commanded the citizens of Jerusalem when they defeated the Zealots; for this they were both put to death. But as Niger had opposed the cessation of hostilities which Ananus on that occasion commanded, it was determined to let him feel all the bitterness of death. As the Zealots dragged him through the city, he uncovered his breast and showed the scars honourably gained against the Romans; his plea was not for life, but only that his remains might be interred; but even this

was denied him. Josephus asserts that twelve thousand persons, eminent for their birth, their fortune, their talents, were massacred during that *reign of terror*. (Bell. Jud., lib. iv., cap. 6.) It must, however, be borne in mind that these particulars rest entirely on the authority of Josephus, the sworn and implacable enemy of the Zealots, the friend and partisan of the unfortunate men who perished. The Talmud (tr. Gittin, fo. 56, et passim) speaks in general terms of the violence committed by the Zealots in Jerusalem, but enters into no particulars; so that Josephus is our only authority; and as he was not present, he must have derived his knowledge of these events from hearsay, and from persons who evidently indulged in exaggeration.

It is difficult to believe that—after the extensive flight and emigration of conservatives during the winter months, after the assassinations in the prisons and the furious combats in the streets—there still should have remained in Jerusalem twelve thousand aristocrats. But while we look upon this number as greatly exaggerated, we are not disposed to dispute the details into which Josephus enters. Men are yet alive who can remember, who lived through, the *reign of terror* in France, when popular fury, thoroughly aroused, repeated at Paris the same deeds of horror enacted at Jerusalem; and so perfectly similar was the expression of popular feeling on both these occasions, that the narration of Josephus reads exactly like a royalist history of the French Revolution. As in Paris, those citizens who absented themselves from the sectional assemblies were suspected of *incivisme*, (pride,) incarcerated, and brought to the *guillotine*, so in Jerusalem; as in Paris those who went furthest in their *sansculottism* were denounced as *Hebertists* (enemies of rational liberty) and executed, so in Jerusalem those citizens who tried to curry favour with the Zealots by making common cause with them, were accused of presumption and put to death; so that whether a man

joined them or kept aloof, he was equally in danger. Those only were safe whom poverty, low birth, and imbecility placed beneath the notice of the dominant faction.

Such was the fatal reaction consequent on the defection of Josephus which led to the inevitable ruin of his country. From that fatal night no hopes remained for the Judeans of successful resistance or honourable negotiation. The union of the people was destroyed. The provinces refused to obey or make common cause with the assassins who usurped supreme power in the metropolis; and these assassins soon began to slaughter each other. The Southerners, whose powerful assistance had enabled the Zealots to conquer their antagonists, and to obtain the mastery over Jerusalem, were soon disgusted with the horrors enacting around them. They were quite willing that the guilty should be punished; but they insisted upon it that the guiltless should be protected, that indiscriminate slaughter should cease, and that some crime should be brought home even to men of rank and fortune before they were put to death.

The men of the South were numerous, warlike; valuable as auxiliaries, dangerous as enemies. The chiefs of the Zealots saw how necessary it was to conciliate these powerful allies. Besides, it appeared quite practicable to establish a tribunal altogether dependent on the dominant faction, and guided by its dictates in the administration of justice, and thus to preserve a semblance of legality without sparing a single victim. A Sanhedrin of seventy-two citizens of Jerusalem was appointed; the *Lishkath Hagazis*, ("stone portico,") so long deserted, was once more occupied as a supreme court of justice, and crowded by a throng of witnesses and spectators. The judges who were to occupy the seats of Simon the son of Shetahh, of Sameas, of Ananus, had been elected from the lower order of the middle classes, petty tradesmen, and shopkeepers; no one ap-

pointed was permitted to refuse the office; and they were pretty plainly given to understand that their own lives depended on their obedience to the will of the Zealots.

In order to inaugurate their new Sanhedrin with due *éclat*, the first prisoner placed on trial was Zechariah the son of Baruch, a man high-born, wealthy, brave, and learned. A friend of Ananus and Ben Gorion, a member of the Sanhedrin and council of defence, he had taken an active part and chief command against the Zealots. The charge against him was treason, conspiring to surrender Jerusalem to the Romans, and entertaining secret relations with Vespasian.

Zechariah appeared before his judges in the full strength of his innocence, aware of his extreme peril, but determined to confront his accusers without shrinking. After the accusation had been heard, he was called upon for his defence. Without hesitation, and most convincingly, he refuted the charge, and showed that there was against him no direct evidence, nor yet any the slightest indication or circumstantial proof. After having vindicated his own innocence, he proceeded to attack his accusers. Boldly and eloquently he upbraided them for their lawless proceedings, their usurpation of power, the foul and sanguinary manner in which they abused the right of the stronger. The Zealots, who formed much the greater portion of the crowd that heard him, gnashed their teeth with rage, swords were half drawn from their scabbards, and the instantaneous and savage explosion of their wrath was only restrained by the certainty that the judges would find him guilty.

According to the usage of Jewish tribunals, the accused, having concluded his defence, was removed from the hall of justice, while the judges deliberated. In the present instance, the length of time they took was quite unexpected. It became the theme of anxiety and suspense. From the galleries of the temple the fact soon spread to the

remotest parts of the city, and agitated the entire population: while some hailed these signs of hesitation and difference of opinion on the part of the tribunal as omens of hope, others maintained that the whole was only a subterfuge to keep up and save appearances. At length, the judges having agreed on their verdict, Zechariah was once more placed before them; when, to the surprise alike of the accused and of his accusers, the president of the tribunal with firm voice declared the charge not proved and the prisoner acquitted. The long-restrained rage of the Zealots now burst forth like a volcano. The judges were hooted, driven from their seats, and out of the portico, with blows; and they would doubtless have fallen victims to their sense of justice, if fear of the armed Southerners had not compelled the Zealot chiefs to moderate the fury of their followers. But nothing could save Zechariah. On his acquittal, he was set at liberty, and went directly into the temple to return thanks there; he was overtaken by two ferocious Zealots, who stabbed him to the heart, and threw his body into the deep valley alongside the temple.

During the reign of terror in Paris, a revolutionary criminal tribunal was appointed, from whose sentence there was no appeal, and at which the infamous Fouquier-Tinville acted as public accuser. But what the revolutionary judges at Jerusalem refused to do—to prostitute and pervert justice at the bidding of a dominant faction—was unhesitatingly and even cheerfully done in Paris. The same men that condemned Madame Roland and Bailly, Malesherbes and the princess Elizabeth—the most virtuous of republicans and royalists—also sent to the guillotine their own most detestable chiefs, Hebert and Danton, Robespierre and Henriot. During the whole time of its existence, this tribunal never once evinced the slightest sense of justice or of humanity We have compared the reign of terror in Jerusalem with that in Paris. But in one point the

comparison fails. There were men in Jerusalem, who, at the risk of life, would do justice; we find them not in Paris.

The assassination of Zechariah, and the violent dispersion of the tribunal, completed the disgust of the Southerns, who renounced their connection with the Zealots and marched back to their homes. Before their departure from Jerusalem, they insisted on setting free upward of two thousand prisoners, most of whom quitted Jerusalem and sought protection with Vespasian.

So long as the union between the Zealots and Idumeans (men of the South) subsisted, Jochanan of Giscala had stood aloof. Surrounded by his own band of trusty Galileans, he had taken up his quarters in the palace of Grapta, one of the princes of Adiabene; and as this structure was more of a fortified castle than a mansion, the Zealots did not deem it advisable to attack him, while he was too weak to rescue his friends of the council who had fallen into their hands; but when the alliance had been dissolved, and the Zealots reduced to their own strength, Jochanan saw that the time was come for him to act and aspire to the supreme direction of affairs. Josephus bitterly upbraids Jochanan as a tyrant and usurper. But if the state of things in Jerusalem actually was such as Josephus himself describes it, no one can blame Jochanan for that, in self-defence, he set up his own authority in opposition to the anarchy and bloodshed upheld by the Zealots; especially as Jochanan was a man of ability, bravery, and experience, even by the unwilling testimony of his worst enemy, Josephus. But the other chiefs were not willing to recognise the supremacy of Jochanan. Furious conflicts were waged within the city between his partisans—consisting of his own Galileans, augmented by citizens, Idumeans, and a considerable body of Zealots who had joined him—and the main body of Zealots who were opposed to him.

While these events were taking place in Jerusalem, another chief acquired supreme power in Idumea, or the provinces south of Jerusalem. We have already spoken of Simon ben Gioras,[28] a young warrior who greatly distinguished himself against the Romans under Cestius Gallus. His extreme opinions, however, rendered him obnoxious to the conservatives, who excluded him from every office; and Ananus, the president of the council of defence, even expelled him from the district of Acrabatana, which he had chosen for his residence. He sought refuge among the most violent of the Sicarri, the immediate followers of Menahhem, (the hereditary leader of the Zealots, executed for tyranny at Jerusalem,) who, under a near kinsman of that bloodthirsty chief, Eleazar the son of Jair, had taken possession of the strong fortress of Massada. But to these Zealots, Simon appeared not sufficiently zealous. They reluctantly granted him an asylum in the lower part of the citadel, but never allowed him to enter the superior or stronger portion; and it was not till he had given repeated proofs of his valour, ability, and intense hatred of Rome and her partisans, that he gained the confidence of his ferocious hosts. In their predatory expeditions he was appointed leader, and showed himself equally enterprising and merciless. While the Romans devastated one part of the country, the self-styled "patriots" destroyed what the Romans spared; and thus hapless Judea suffered not less from her professed friends than from her declared enemies. The success that invariably attended Simon in his encounters with his enemies, induced him to plan enterprises on a larger scale, to be carried out at a greater distance. But

[28] In Tacitus, (Hist., lib. v. § 12,) we meet with the singular blunder of the surname of Bar-Gioras being transferred to Jochanan of Giscala. Another Roman historian, Dion Cassius, (in Vespas. § vii.) leaves Simon in possession of his surname, but turns it into Barporas. Probably both errors originated with transcribers.

the chiefs of Massada—fearful of being cut off from their stronghold—refused to join him; and as the news arrived of the ruin of Ananus and the supreme council, Simon felt sufficiently strong in his popularity to renounce the shelter of Massada. With a small but devoted band of followers he threw himself into the mountains, while his emissaries throughout the country proclaimed freedom to every slave, and large bounty to every freeman, who should enlist under the banners of the patriot Simon. His troops rapidly swelled into an army; his increasing force and the *prestige* of his name and uninterrupted success induced men of influence to join him; and he was soon in a condition to quit the mountains, to descend into the plain, and to take possession of considerable cities. The governors of Idumea now hastened to confront him. They had been appointed by Ananus and the council, but did not possess sufficient authority or influence to prevent the rising of the populace that had marched to Jerusalem and assisted the Zealots. But as Simon's progress alarmed the property-owners throughout the country, a large force was quickly raised, and a fierce but drawn battle was fought, which left each army in the possession of its ground. The governors of Idumea obtained reinforcements, and were on the point of again attacking Simon, when one of the Southern chiefs, named Jacob, under the pretence of reconnoitering the enemy's camp, passed over to Simon and entered into an arrangement with him, in consequence of which the whole of the south country recognised him as supreme chief. His power now was more absolute than that of any Jewish king had ever been; while his ambition growing with his strength, he determined to make himself master of Jerusalem.

For this purpose he declared against the authorities who bore sway in that metropolis, but whom he denounced as usurpers, and carried his inroads and devastations to the very gates of Jerusalem. His enemies, not daring to meet

him in the open field, tried to circumvent and harass him by means of skirmishes and detachments placed in ambush to cut off his stragglers. By such an ambush Simon's wife was captured and carried in triumph to Jerusalem. The chiefs there sought to turn this capture into a means of forcing Simon to lay down his arms, or at least to recognise their supremacy. But his reply to their proposal was fire and sword carried through the entire district, and a threat of revenge so terrible, that they at length restored his wife, and he returned to Idumea.

While the Judeans were thus engaged during the winter months of 67–68 in destroying each other, Vespasian kept his troops in their comfortable quarters, and gave them time to recover from their fatigues and sufferings during their toilsome campaign in Galilee. He was kept perfectly cognizant of every event that took place in Jerusalem, but his sagacity and experience told him it was most to the advantage of Rome that he should not interfere. The Jewish refugees in his camp in vain urged him to march on Jerusalem and put an end to the anarchy and bloodshed in that unfortunate city. His own officers incessantly pressed on him to take advantage of the bitter dissensions of the Jews, and to terminate the war at once by striking a decisive blow at Jerusalem. But nothing could induce him to alter the plan of campaign he had traced out to himself, and according to which the entire country was to be in his power before he made any move against the revolted metropolis. His quaint but significant remark—"While the wolves are devouring each other, it is best to leave them alone"—proves how clearly he perceived that the Judeans themselves were doing his work for him. The defence of the various strongholds in Galilee had led him justly to appreciate Jewish prowess, and the degree of resistance he was likely to experience at Jerusalem, where he was quite convinced the approach of his army would at

once put a stop to all intestine conflicts, by rallying all factions and uniting them against Rome. "While our enemies are destroying each other," he said to his lieutenants, "it would be wrong to force them to unite. Do you think there is no glory to be acquired, if we conquer without fighting? Know that the reverse is the fact: the fortune of war is doubtful, and he is the most praiseworthy who leaves as little as possible to chance, and yet gains his end." (Josephus, Bell. Jud., lib. iv. cap. 8.)

Toward the end of February, 68, Vespasian entered on his second campaign. A secret deputation from the chiefs of Gadara, a considerable city beyond Jordan, had invited the Roman general to take possession of their city, and to relieve them from the reign of terror which the Zealots were about to introduce. The subjugation and possession of Galilee facilitated Vespasian's compliance with this invitation, and while he himself entered Gadara, his lieutenants Trajan and Placidus were despatched to complete the conquest of Perea, the district beyond Jordan. The former was directed to take possession of the strongholds on the eastern boundary of the province; the latter was charged with the destruction or expulsion of the Zealots. Vespasian himself, with the greater part of his army, after leaving a strong garrison in Gadara, recrossed the Jordan, in order to conduct in person the attack on the second line of defence, which protected Jerusalem to the north, and was composed of the three military districts of Thamna, Acrabatene, and Jericho.

The Zealots stationed at Gadara were not a little surprised by the unexpected approach of Vespasian and the peaceful surrender of the city. They, however, contrived to retreat in good order; and while they loudly proclaimed the treason and treachery of the Gadarenes, they themselves directed their march along the shores of the Jordan toward Jerusalem, which, since the subjugation of Galilee, was become

the headquarters of their faction. On reaching Bethnabra, they were reinforced by a considerable number of young men, who had assembled in arms and were eager for battle. The chiefs of the Zealots readily complied with their wish, and marched to the encounter of Placidus. But their courage proved no match for his skill and superior generalship. By a feigned retreat, he enticed the Jews into quitting their advantageous position and commencing a pursuit destined to be of short duration. The Roman cavalry, which throughout the war inflicted such heavy loss on the Jews, turned their position, fell upon their flank and rear, and cut them off from Bethnabra; while the retreating legions suddenly wheeled about, and by a vigorous attack overthrew and routed the bewildered Jews. The town of Bethnabra was taken by storm, plundered, and burnt.

Those of the Zealots and their allies who escaped the carnage soon rallied, and determined to cross the Jordan lower down and opposite to Jericho. As they marched on, their progress was encumbered by numbers of fugitives of every age and sex, who had been driven from their homes by the devastations committed alike by Trajan and Placidus. These fugitives carried with them as much of their movable property as they had been able to save: as at the time of the exit from Egypt, flocks and herds, camels and other beasts of burden, attended the march of the retreating Zealots, whose greater acquaintance with the localities enabled them to avoid many obstacles that impeded the advance of the Romans; so that, notwithstanding the slow length of their line, the Jews reached the Jordan before their pursuers.

But, oh horror! the sight which awaited them on the shores of that river paralyzed the boldest. A sudden rise of the waters, so frequent at that season, rendered the fords impassable, and turned the placid current of the river

into an impetuous torrent, while no Moses, no Joshua, was there to divide and control the turbid stream.

The light-armed advance guard of the Romans soon appeared in sight. The bravest of the Zealots rushed to the combat, while the multitude they sought to protect sent forth shrieks of horror and howls of despair. Some rushed into the surging stream, preferring death beneath its waters to the merciless sword of the Romans; others in vain attempted to save themselves by swimming. The main body of the Romans soon came up, put an end to the combat, and slaughtered alike the defenceless and the resisting. The banks of the Jordan were covered with the slain, whose remains the rapid waters of the river carried into the Dead Sea.

This catastrophe struck terror into all the adjacent country. The strongholds erected near the mouths of the Jordan, where it falls into the lake, were either abandoned by the Jews or surrendered to Placidus. The fortress of Macheron was the only one throughout Perea that continued to resist, and was one of the three places that held out after the siege of Jerusalem. No details have reached us respecting the progress of Trajan and his army, but we know the result. Lower Perea was conquered and devastated.

Vespasian had, at first, been equally successful. The destruction of the conservative council of defence, and the subsequent reign of terror in Jerusalem, had spread distrust and discord through all classes of the community. The chief commanders appointed by the fallen council dreaded their own troops, while the treason of the Gadarenes and the ferocity of the Zealots reduced the provincials to a state of despondency which induced them to welcome the Romans as deliverers. The second campaign of Vespasian, at least until he enters the country of Simon Bar Gioras, presents no sieges like those of Jotopatha or Gamala; no mul-

titudes in arms, like those assembled on Mount Tabor. But though the Romans were not provoked by obstinate resistance or serious losses, Vespasian permitted them to indulge in unrestrained pillage and bloodshed. "After letting his troops repose two days at Antipatris, Vespasian on the third day commenced his advance, destroying the people and burning every village within his reach. Having reduced the open country throughout the district of Thamna, and taken the cities of Lydda and Jamnia, the general next gave the whole country of Bethlephoron to the flames. In Idumea he obtained possession of the two strongholds of Betharim and Caphar-Toba, where he put upward of ten thousand persons to the sword, and carried off one thousand captives." Such is the brief and business-like statement of Josephus, (ib., lib. iv. cap. 8,) who cannot find one word of censure for these *Roman atrocities*, while his virtuous indignation boils over whenever he can meet with an opportunity of enlarging on the *wickedness of the Jews*.

But for some reason or other, Josephus does not tell us why Vespasian so suddenly stopped short in Idumea, and even deemed it advisable to adopt a retrograde movement. It was not the lateness of the season, for he returned from the south by the middle of May; nor was it eager haste to receive intelligence from Rome, since Vespasian kept the field and continued his operations in Central Judea sometime after his return from Idumea. The cause of his retreat, as M. Salvador clearly proves, (Domination Romaine, vol. ii. p. 293,) must have been the system of defence adopted by Simon Bar Gioras, and which threw obstacles in the way of the Roman which, at that time, he felt himself unable to overcome. It is evident that the losses he experienced must have been considerable, since he found it necessary to recall a detachment of five thousand men stationed at Ammaus, and thus to abandon an important position—the gate, as it were, of the roads and defiles leading

to Jerusalem. Even after this reinforcement, Vespasian did not attack the district of Acrabatene, but continued his march northward, through a country already in his possession, as far as the ancient city of Sichem, which under his auspices became a Roman colony and obtained the name of Neapolis, (new town,) at present called Nablous. From thence he followed the line of march which Pompey had taken one hundred and thirty years before, and reached Jericho, where he was successively joined by his lieutenants Trajan and Placidus. The inhabitants of Jericho received timely intelligence of his approach, but, unable to offer any defence against this accumlation of force, they sought refuge in the mountains, while Vespasian occupied himself in raising fortifications that should command the landing-places and fords across the Jordan. Notwithstanding the successful operations of his two lieutenants in Lower Perea, the northern part of the province, with its chief city, Gerasa—the birthplace of Simon Bar Gioras—still held out. A strong body of troops under a third lieutenant, Lucius Annius, was sent against the refractory district. Gerasa was taken by storm, plundered, and burnt, while many other towns and villages shared its fate.

About the middle of June, 68, Vespasian returned to Cesarea, where he directed his attention to the construction of battering-rams of unusual force, and other implements of siege, newly invented, and which were intended for Jerusalem. Until the attack on that doomed city, the siege of Syracuse in Sicily—by the Romans under Marcellus and Appius, during the second Punic war, 212 B. C. E. —had been looked upon as the most perfect development of the power of attack by means of warlike engines; but the siege of Syracuse was deprived of this pre-eminence by the immense means of attack brought to bear on Jerusalem. Tacitus remarks, (Hist., lib. v. § 13,) "The progress of the war was suspended until the preparations for the attack

of Jerusalem comprised all the machines of war that were known by the ancients, together with all those which the inventive skill of later times had contrived."

Some time after his return to Cesarea, Vespasian received intelligence of the sudden and astounding revolution that had destroyed Nero, and transferred the empire of Rome to a new dynasty. The cruelty of Nero, his profligacy and wastefulness, at length had met with condign punishment. After several abortive conspiracies, resulting in numberless executions and confiscations, the governor of Gaul—Vindex, a native of that country—raised the standard of rebellion. As he felt that the proud Romans would not readily recognise as their master a provincial, the descendant of a conquered race, Vindex, who took upon himself to decree the forfeiture of Nero and of the house of Cæsar, offered the imperial diadem to S. Galba, a Roman of high birth and established military reputation, who at that time held the chief command in Spain. Galba had just then been sentenced to death, unheard, by Nero; he therefore did not hesitate a moment to accept the offer of Vindex; and, appealing to the troops under his command, was by them saluted as emperor. The entire peninsula and all Gaul, with the exception of the Roman colony of Lyons, thus at once rose against Nero, and Galba prepared to march on Rome. But the Roman legions stationed on the Rhine felt indignant that a Gaul should take upon himself to dispose of the empire. They refused to recognise Galba, and, reinforced by an auxiliary body of Belgians, they rapidly invaded the insurgent province. Vindex and the Gallic legions encountered the invaders near Besançon. The chiefs on both sides, equally disaffected to Nero, were anxious to come to an understanding, but their men did not leave them time; for so eager were the invaders, that they rushed upon their adversaries without waiting for the word of command; so that the battle began without any

signal given on either side. The Gauls lost twenty thousand men, and were routed: Vindex, to avoid being taken alive, killed himself; but the revolution to which he had given the first impulse continued its course.

Long before the tidings of Vindex's defeat and death reached Rome, Nero had with his own hand done justice on himself. The name of the rebel—Vindex, "the avenger"—fell on the conscience of the parricide like a clap of thunder. Not less cowardly than cruel, Nero—who had boasted that before him no emperor had known how to carry out absolute imperial power to its fullest extent—became paralyzed with terror, and incapable of thought or action. When his sycophants beheld him thus abject and helpless, they deserted him; and when the intelligence arrived that the troops in Spain had declared for Galba, who was marching against Rome, the senate and prætorian guards refused obedience to Nero. Terrified by the solitude in which he was left, the fallen emperor fled from the city disguised, in the most pitiable plight, attended only by four freedmen. His flight terminated at a small country-house belonging to one of these four men. Fearful of being seen and recognised while entering through the door, he forced his way through a quickset hedge, where the briars tore his face, and crept into the building through a hole made for him in the back wall. Here he learned that the senate had decreed that he, as the common enemy of mankind, should be seized and punished *more majorum*, "according to the custom of the ancients," which, as he ascertained, signified scourging to death. Even this fearful fate could not rouse his feeble mind to the last energetic resolution; and it was only when a body of horsemen was heard approaching his asylum, that at last, and by the assistance of his secretary, Nero put an end to his wretched life, on the 11th of June, 68.

Had Nero been a man of energy and courage, he could

doubtless have maintained himself; for strange as it may appear to us, Nero, who "fiddled while Rome was burning," was very popular with the lower classes of that immense capital; and had he evinced any thing like a determination to fight for his throne, they would have armed in his defence. After his death, Galba was acknowledged by the senate, and most of the armies took the oath of fealty to him.

Vespasian determined to send his son Titus to Rome to compliment the new emperor, and to solicit the continuance of his command. King Agrippa II., whose future fortunes altogether depended on the favour of the emperor, whoever he be, resolved to accompany Titus, whose testimony to the king's zeal against his own people, the Jews, would absolve him from the charge of lukewarmness, while his influence would be exerted to promote the king's interests. But on their arrival at Athens, the two travellers were surprised to hear that Galba had perished a victim to a conspiracy; and that his murderer, S. Otho, had been saluted as emperor by his fellow-conspirators, the prætorian guards, and recognised by the trembling senate. Titus at once returned to Cesarea, while Agrippa continued his journey to Rome. On his arrival there, however, he found that short as had been the reign of Galba—it had lasted only seven months and some days—that of his successor was still shorter. Salvius Otho, a man of high birth and depraved character, the boon companion of Nero, had dissipated his large fortune by his wasteful debaucheries, and was so overwhelmed with debt, that he publicly declared nothing short of imperial power could save him from ruin. When the rebellion broke out, he held the office of governor of Lusitania, (Portugal,) and had been among the first to declare for Galba, who was seventy years of age and had no children, in the hope that the aged emperor would nominate him as his successor. But when he found that Piso, a man of birth equal and of reputation far superior to his own,

was preferred to him, and that the old emperor by his parsimony had offended the prætorian guards, whose favourite prefect or commander, the infamous Nymphidius, Galba had put to death, Otho took advantage of their discontent, and by the most extravagant gifts induced them to murder Galba and Piso, and to proclaim Otho. But this act of the prætorian guards was highly offensive to the legions stationed in various parts of the empire, who contended that if the nomination of the emperor rested with the soldiers, it was not the body of troops on guard at Rome, but the whole of the army, that ought to exercise the right of electing him. It was what Titus heard on this subject from the troops in Greece, that induced him to hurry back to Judea, full of the idea that his own father, a renowned general, at the head of a powerful and victorious army, was entitled to act a prominent part among the military claimants of the empire.

The legions on the Rhine, who had refused to recognise the nominee of Vindex, were the first to declare against the elected of the prætorians. Flushed with their recent victory over the army of Gaul, these legions not only repudiated Otho, but proclaimed their own general, Vitellius, as emperor, and marched against Rome. Otho went forth at the head of as large an army as he at the time could collect, and encountered the invaders in Upper Italy. But Otho himself was no general; his prætorians, though ardently attached to him, had no confidence in their officers, and refused to obey their orders; while the troops of Vitellius, superior in numbers and discipline, were commanded by two able generals, Valens and Cœcinna. The decisive battle, at which neither of the rival emperors was present, was fought near Cremona; the troops of Otho were defeated, and after the battle a considerable body of them passed over to his rival. Otho still possessed vast resources, and his friends urged him to continue the war; but he declared

that he preferred the peace of his country to his own life, and struck a dagger to his heart with a degree of heroism that almost tempts us to say "No act of his life became him so well as the quitting of it." He had reigned three months.

His successor, Aulus Vitellius—a son of that governor of Syria who had removed Pilate from his office in Judea (vide supra., p. 376)—was not only recognised as emperor in Rome, but the senate decreed that the legions who had elected him deserved well of their country. Like most of the high-born Romans of his time, this emperor, though by no means destitute of education and abilities, was sunk in the worst of profligacy and debauchery. Cruel like Caligula, but without his excuse of madness; wasteful like Nero, but without his love of the fine arts; extravagant like Otho, but less troubled by his debts, of which he managed to get rid by destroying his creditors,—Vitellius has established for himself a peculiar reputation as the greatest and most expensive glutton that ever lived. During the eight months of his reign, the expenses of his table exceeded nine hundred millions of sesterces—equal to thirty millions of dollars; so that there seems to be some reason for the apprehension expressed by Suetonius, (in Vitel.,) that had this emperor's reign continued much longer, the Roman empire would have been too poor to furnish him with a meal. Nor must we feel surprised at this extravagant assertion, since we are informed that one of his favourite dishes was composed of the tongues of the rarest birds; and that two thousand different kinds of fish, and seven thousand of birds, were placed upon his table at one banquet.

The example set by the different portions of the army, who had twice in one year nominated masters of the Roman world, and been largely rewarded, was too tempting not to find imitators. The legions on the Danube had recognised Otho, and were in full march to join him; but

his defeat and death decided the conflict before they could reach the scene of action. Their chiefs dreaded the resentment of Vitellius, and induced the soldiers to proclaim Vespasian, who formerly commanded them, as emperor. That wary and sagacious old soldier, however, had great misgivings on the subject, and preferred recognising Vitellius. Too wise to suppose that an empire like that of Rome could long be governed by the sword, Vespasian felt his own want of political weight and family connection. Both Galba and Otho were of ancient patrician descent, in birth and kindred the peers of the Cæsars; Vitellius, though not equally high-born, was still of an honourable and patrician lineage; while Vespasian was altogether a self-made man. Besides, a rigid disciplinarian, he looked upon a breach of discipline as the worst of crimes; and disobedience to the orders of the emperor *de facto*, as the most flagrant breach of discipline. All this, and the fear of destroying his family by unsuccessful ambition, induced him —when the commissioners appointed by Vitellius arrived at Cesarea—to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, and to exact the same from the troops under his command.

The oath was taken, but in silence, and with visible coolness and reluctance; for, while Vespasian kept aloof and hesitated, those around him were all the more zealous and active. His son Titus, with his beloved Berenice, Mucius, the governor of Syria, who commanded four legions of excellent soldiers, Tiberius Alexander, the apostate Jew, governor of Egypt, and also at the head of considerable forces, were determined that Vespasian should reign, and spared no efforts to insure success. The governor of Egypt was most influential, since the immense city of Rome and great part of Italy drew her supplies of corn from the shores of the Nile; so that Tiberius Alexander had it in his power to starve Rome into submission whenever he pleased. King Agrippa, at Rome, was initiated into every

movement made by the partisans of Vespasian, and afforded them every assistance in his power—acting the same part in gaining over the senate that his father had acted when Claudius was raised to the empire; and at the same time Agrippa kept exciting old Vespasian to declare himself, by acquainting him with the agitated state of Italy, where Vitellius was detested, and his soldiers lived at free-quarters, indulging their rapacity and ferociousness without any check or restraint.

Vespasian had long delayed entering on the campaign, and it was not till the end of April that he despatched Cerealis with a large force to the south to retrieve the failure of the preceding year; but Idumea was no longer defended by Simon Bar Gioras, who, as we shall presently relate, had been summoned to Jerusalem. His lieutenants were not equal to the task of successfully carrying out his plan of defence. Cerealis overcame their resistance, slaughtered and devastated wherever he passed, and penetrated to Hebron, the principal city, which he took by storm, plundered, and reduced to ashes, after putting all the inhabitants to the sword.

Toward the end of May, Vespasian himself left Cesarea with the troops under his own command, subdued Acrabatene and Gophna, crossed the mountains north of Jerusalem, and placed strong garrisons in the towns of Ephraim and Bethel. The whole of Judea was now subdued, except the metropolis and the three strongholds of Macheron, beyond Jordan, Herodion, south of Jerusalem, and Massada, west of the Dead Sea. But these places were isolated, incapable of protracted resistance if attacked, and, with the exception of Jerusalem, not likely to give the Romans much trouble. Vespasian had employed two years and eight months, from the time he first took the field, in completing this conquest, which by himself and many others was considered as a most meritorious achievement, and one that

entitled him to the highest reward: a testimony this to the abilities and valour of the vanquished, the truth of which cannot be disputed. His partisans now determined to overcome his hesitation, and to make him accept the imperial diadem.

A few days after Vespasian's return to Cesarea, the movement broke out at Alexandria, where, on the 1st of July, 69, Tiberius Alexander proclaimed Vespasian, and caused his troops to swear fealty to the new emperor. A similar movement took place at Cesarea on the 3d of the same month. The old warrior no longer resisted. A number of predictions and portents were seasonably remembered by him; and among the foremost to enjoy his imperial bounty was Josephus, who—when first brought before Vespasian, after the fall of Jotopatha—had foretold the glorious destiny that awaited his captor.[29] At Berytus, where Vespasian received a crowd of ambassadors who came to compliment him on his election, he related to them how the

[29] The Talmud (tr. Gittin fo. 56 B.) relates that it was R. Jochanan ben Zachai who predicted the future elevation of Vespasian; that this rabbi, who was president of the Sanhedrin before and after the destruction of Jerusalem, contrived to effect his escape from the reign of terror in that city by the assistance of his nephew Abba Zickra, one of the chiefs of the Zealots, and presented himself before Vespasian with the exclamation—"Long live the emperor!" that Vespasian rebuked and even threatened him for using such language, but that R. Jochanan supported his prediction by a quotation from Scripture: "Lebanon (the temple) shall fall by means of a mighty one," (Isaiah x. 34,) and that none was mighty but a monarch. After the prediction had come true, Vespasian required the rabbi to ask a grace, promising to grant whatever he should request, on which R. Jochanan solicited and obtained safety for the town of Jamnia and its Sanhedrin, protection for the descendants of Hillel, and a physician to heal the sick R. Zadock—one of his colleagues. Subsequently, R. Jochanan was blamed for not at once requesting safety and protection for the temple of the Lord and for Jerusalem; but the rabbi was defended by the remark that if he had asked too much, he would probably have obtained nothing.

Jewish chief, whose bravery and skill he greatly extolled, had assured him, while Nero was yet in the fulness of his power, that he (Vespasian) was destined to become emperor of Rome. Till then, Josephus had been treated as a captive; but now, at the request of Titus, he was declared free, and restored to the rank he held before his capture. His fetters were knocked off, Vespasian bestowed upon him a large estate in Judea, and Josephus was held in high consideration in the Roman army. (Bell. Jud., lib. vi. cap. 2.)

The new emperor despatched Mucius, governor of Syria, with all the troops that could be spared, to Italy, there to join the Danubian legions, and to carry on the war against Vitellius; Titus was left in command of the army in Judea; and Vespasian himself repaired to Alexandria, where he was within easy reach of news from Rome, and absolute master of the subsistence of that great metropolis. In the month of October, the Danubian legions of Vespasian encountered those of Vitellius near Cremona, on the same battlefield of Bedriac where, six months before, the army of Otho had been defeated. The Vitellians, then victors, were now vanquished with great slaughter. The survivors sought refuge in Cremona, but were besieged and compelled to surrender. An important annual fair had attracted to Cremona a great number of wealthy traders with costly merchandise. The troops who fought for Vespasian, many of whom had doubtless been trained to pillage and slaughter in Judea, now practised in Italy the lessons they had been taught in the East: public markets, private stores, houses and temples were broken into and plundered, citizens and strangers were robbed and murdered, and the city itself burnt to the ground. The destruction of Cremona, like that of Artaxata, was an indication of what Jerusalem had to expect from soldiers ferocious, undisciplined, and brutalized to a degree that has never been surpassed.

Before the defeat of the Vitellians, the two chiefs who had placed the emperor on the throne, Valens and Cœcinna, made their peace with Vespasian; so likewise did the commander of Vitellius' fleet, L. Bassus, subsequently governor in Judea. The wretched glutton, during and after the defeat of his troops and the defection of his generals, had remained in Rome, surrounded by a troop of vile parasites and licentious soldiers. At the approach of his rival's army, Vitellius wished to abdicate, and opened negotiations for that purpose with Antonius Primus, who commanded the legions victorious at Cremona, and with Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, who at the time happened to hold the office of prefect or mayor of the city of Rome. Both these officers were anxious to save the great metropolis from the horrors of a civil war fought within its streets, and which would place the lives and fortunes of the citizens at the mercy of an infuriate soldiery; accordingly, the terms proposed by Vitellius were accepted. He was to be permitted to lay down the imperial dignity; his life and family were to be spared; and he was to receive one hundred millions of sesterces (about three and a half millions of dollars) as the price of his abdication. But his adherents would listen to no accommodation. The day after the conclusion of this treaty—the 18th of December, 69—Vitellius, attended by his family in mourning garments, quitted the imperial palace and proceeded toward the temple of Concord, where he was solemnly to renounce the imperial power. But his soldiers and a vast concourse of people compelled him to return to the palace, while the air resounded with their acclamations. While the excitement caused by this tumult was at its height, Flavius Sabinus, escorted by an armed guard, happened to meet a strong body of Vitellian soldiers, who at once attacked him, and compelled him to seek refuge in the capitol. Here he was besieged by the Vitellians, but was joined during the night

by his own family and his nephew, Domitian, the second son of Vespasian, who deemed themselves more safe in the capitol than at home. Early in the morning, Flavius Sabinus sent an emissary to Vitellius, to claim his protection by virtue of the treaty concluded between them. This messenger had the greatest difficulty in forcing his way through the crowds of furious soldiers who, from all parts of the city, hastened to attack the capitol; and when he reached the emperor, he found Vitellius powerless and the fate of Sabinus decided. The Vitellians treated the capitol, the sanctuary of their own gods, as if it had been a hostile fortress. The outer gates were set on fire; the soldiers climbed on the roofs of the adjoining buildings to hurl combustibles into the venerable edifice. At length, an entrance was forced, and the capitol, with its garrison, put to fire and sword. Unfortunately for mankind, Domitian, that tyrant, escaped; but Flavius Sabinus was taken alive, loaded with chains, and dragged before Vitellius, who in vain tried to save him. Countless swords pierced the body of Vespasian's unfortunate brother: his head was cut off, and his remains were flung into the Tiber in the opprobrious manner that common malefactors were disposed of.

The conflagration of the capitol preceded by less than twelve months the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem; yet how infinitely superior in dignity, how memorable in its character, is the ruin of Zion, when compared with that of the capitol! The one fell, defended by her worshippers against ruffian invaders, each stone consecrated, each foot of ground saturated, by the blood of her children. The voice of prophecy, which had predicted her restoration after her first destruction, also proclaims her second and more glorious restoration after her last overthrow. The love with which the memory of Zion is still venerated and cherished, the hope which, amid calamities numberless, still survives in the breasts of her long-exiled and widely-scat-

tered children, is of itself a *primâ facie* proof of the truth of prophecy. The capitol fell, disgracefully destroyed by the sacrilegious hands of her own people in a brawling riot, a siege without aim, and a conflict without purpose. Her memory survives but in history; no heart palpitates at the mention of her name, no fervent prayers ascend to the throne of mercy in her behalf. For all practical purposes, the capitol is dead and forgotten, while the memory of Zion's temple is undying, and still influences millions. Justly does Tacitus exclaim—"Rome never experienced a catastrophe more disgraceful or lamentable than the conflagration of the capitol." (Historia, lib. iii. § 72.)

A few days after the destruction of the capitol, the legions of Vespasian forced their way into Rome. Tacitus, at the time a young man of twenty, thus describes the conduct of the citizens during the conflict that took place in the streets between the two armies, and of which he was an eye-witness: "The mob, spectators of the struggle, encouraged each party successively by cries and applause, as if present at the games of the circus. When either Flavians or Vitellians were forced to yield ground, and the vanquished sought refuge in houses or stores, the clamours of the mob forced the victims from their shelter, and insisted on their being put to death. The mob also carried off the spoils of the slain, for the soldiers, in their blood-thirsty rage, thought of nothing but carnage. The scenes which Rome presented were horrible, monstrous. In the immediate vicinity of the battle-ground, covered with the dead and the wounded, some citizens enjoyed the pleasures of the bath, others got drunk; while prostitutes and men equally shameless indulged in their disreputable calling. The entire city seemed mad at once with lasciviousness and thirst for blood." (Ibid. § 83.) At length the legions of Vespasian conquered. Vitellius, discovered in a porter's lodge, where he had concealed himself, was dragged through

the whole city with a rope round his neck, his clothes in tatters, and was finally hacked in pieces, and his remains, like those of Flavius Sabinus, flung into the river.

His death became the signal for rapine and carnage, of which the citizens were no longer the spectators, but the victims. The conquerors gave free scope to the most fiend-like passions. The public places and the temples streamed with blood. Under the pretext of searching for concealed Vitellians, every house was forced open, every dwelling violated, and rapine and lust gratified without restraint. The conflagration of the capitol and the sacking of Rome were indeed the prelude to the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple. But as the tidings of these horrors rapidly spread to the East and to the West, they were hailed with shouts of gratified animosity by the nations that groaned under the supremacy of Rome. In the West, the Batavians rose in fearful insurrection under Civilis, (70 C. E.;) while in the East, in Jerusalem, amid the deeds of violence they themselves enacted, the Zealots looked upon the horrors at Rome, and the capitol in ashes, as a just manifestation of retributive justice, as a certain presage of their own eventual triumph.

While thus, within the brief space of eighteen months, the Roman Empire had witnessed the destruction of a mighty dynasty, the suicide of two emperors, and the murder of their two successors,—while Italy, devastated, Cremona and great part of Rome in ruins, and the palladium of the empire, the capitol, destroyed, attested the rage with which the civil wars had been carried on,—Jerusalem, on a smaller scale and in a more circumscribed theatre, beheld a struggle for supremacy as fierce and unrelenting as that waged in Rome itself. Jochanan of Giscala, by his superior abilities and unscrupulous energy, was gradually acquiring a dictatorial power; but the Idumeans who had joined him, and the Zealots who opposed him, were equally

averse to recognise his supremacy. The citizens thought that the ruin of Jochanan, the most formidable of their oppressors, would enable them to deliver Jerusalem from the dominion of other less powerful tyrants; and the agents and partisans of Rome, of whom there still were many in the city, were ready to promote any undertaking that, by arming the Jews against each other, might facilitate the eventual success of Vespasian. All these parties were induced to unite in a sudden attack on Jochanan. Their forces were so greatly superior to his own, that they wrested from him his stronghold, the castle of Grapta, which they plundered, and killed a number of his men; but Jochanan, with admirable presence of mind, seized on a stronger position. The garrison of the temple had joined in the attack against him. Of this circumstance he took advantage, seized on the undefended temple-mount, with its buildings, and from this stronghold bade defiance to his united assailants, who thus, by their very success, became placed in a worse position than they had been before. What they had chiefly cause to dread was that the enterprising Jochanan might sally forth at night, or when they were least in a condition to resist him; for their chiefs knew how little they could depend upon each other, and that whichever one among them should be first attacked by Jochanan would be left to his fate by his colleagues.

The conservative party, intrinsically the weakest, was also, from its character, the most obnoxious and exposed. Its chief, Matthias the son of Theophilus—who had been the last high-priest, but was expelled by the Zealots to make room for Phannias of Chabta, the stonecutter—was especially anxious that the supremacy of Jochanan should be effectually guarded against. This, however, could only be done by the appointment of a supreme leader, whom all the other chiefs would be obliged to recognise; and there was but one man throughout the country who, from his real

power and military fame, was entitled to claim obedience. That man was Simon ben Gioras, whose successful defence of Idumea against Vespasian in person became a theme of admiration to every Jew. In an evil hour for Jerusalem, Matthias prevailed on the chiefs to invite Simon into the city, and got himself appointed at the head of the deputation that carried the invitation, for the purpose of obtaining from Simon certain guarantees against the abuse of his power. The supreme command in Jerusalem was an object too gratifying to Simon's ambition to be refused; at the same time he was too well acquainted with the state of affairs in Jerusalem to submit to any limitation of his power, or to consent to any stipulations that Matthias proposed. At the head of an army raised and disciplined by himself, and devotedly attached to him, Simon marched to Jerusalem; the gates were thrown open, and the people received him with universal acclamation as their chief and deliverer. But his departure from Idumea left that province defenceless and an easy prey to the Romans, as we have already related; while his presence in Jerusalem became the signal of a fierce civil war against Jochanan, whom he repeatedly attacked, but could not subdue; and who, in revenge for these attacks, made frequent sallies into the parts of the city held by his rival, and which he devastated with fire and sword.

One result of the constant warfare between Simon and Jochanan was that it gave the Zealots under the command of the latter an opportunity to repudiate his authority, and to set up for themselves an independent chief; for, though Jochanan was vigilant and crushed every plot and conspiracy, still Eleazar the son of Simon the priest, a man of daring and abilities equal to his own, found means not only successfully to seduce the Zealots, but also, while Jochanan was resisting the furious assaults of Simon on the temple-mount, to seize upon the upper portion of the temple, containing

large stores of provisions, and where he obtained further supplies by means of the daily and festival sacrifices, and other offerings, which amid the din and fury of the conflict were regularly brought. The number of men under his command was two thousand four hundred, and his position the strongest and most advantageous.

Simon, at the head of ten thousand Idumeans and five thousand Zealots and armed citizens, held the city of Jerusalem, with its vast stores of provisions and arms. His army and supplies were the greatest, but his position the most disadvantageous, as he was open to the continual inroads of the enterprising Jochanan, who, at the head of six thousand Galileans, held the lower portion of the temple-mount and the avenues leading into the city. These three chiefs were engaged in perpetual conflict. Jochanan, attacked at once by Eleazar from above and by Simon from below, defended himself successfully against the former by means of his military engines, and against the latter by the strength of his walls and fortifications. But while he thus maintained an equal contest against his rivals, he was greatly distressed by the want of provisions, to obtain which he had to make frequent but unexpected attacks on the city, sallying forth whenever he saw an opportunity of doing so with any prospect of success.

The quantities of food and of supplies of every kind collected in Jerusalem must have been very large. The Talmud (tr. Gittin, fo. 56) tells us, that when the war first broke out, and the leading families found it necessary to conciliate and gain the confidence of the masses, three wealthy men, whose names are mentioned, came forward and undertook to supply the city during twenty-one years—the one with wheat and barley, the second with wine, salt, and oil, and the third with fuel. This statement is evidently exaggerated, but it is in part confirmed by Josephus, who declares that the quantities of provision accumulated in Jeru-

salem were sufficient to preserve the city from famine during several years. (Bell. Jud., lib. v. cap. 1.) The joint testimony of Josephus and the Talmud places it beyond a doubt, that—full allowance made for exaggeration—the store of grain and other necessaries within the city must have been very great when the war first begun. A portion of these stores had been burnt when the Idumeans broke into the city, but a much larger portion was destroyed during the frequent sallies of Jochanan, whose advance and retreat were equally marked by fire; a measure which he deemed necessary for his own safety, as it diverted the attention of his enemy.

During the winter of 69–70, while these conflicts were most fierce, the Romans made no attempt on Jerusalem. Ever since Vespasian's election to the empire, the war had languished. He himself had quitted Palestine—first for Egypt, and then for Rome. The attention of his son Titus, who commanded in Judea, was directed to the struggle in Italy and the rebellion of Civilis. The resumption of hostilities in Judea was looked upon as remote; and the Jews from adjoining countries, whose festival visits to the temple had been prevented by the war, determined to profit by the species of truce which seemed, tacitly at least, to have been established with the Romans, who for nearly twelve months had made no hostile movement. From Parthia, Mesopotamia, and the shores of the Euphrates, from Antioch and all Syria, from Asia Minor and the isle of Cyprus, thousands of Jews flocked to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover. Alas! it was the last time the children of Israel assembled on that consecrated mountain, where in days of old a visible sign of the Divine presence had attested the truth of the revelation in which they believed, the holiness of the worship they offered, the rites they practised. It was the last time that the festive multitude of Israelites approached the mountain of the Lord, chant-

ing the Psalms of David, the songs of degrees, (Psalms cxx. to cxxxiv.,) and shouting, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; may they prosper who love thee." (Ib. cxxii. 6.) For the last time the sons of Aaron, from the summit of Moriah's mount, welcomed the pilgrim-throng, and chanted the greeting, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord! we bless you, from the house of the Lord." (Ibid. cxviii. 26.) Many habitual visitors of the temple made this last pilgrimage with a zeal renewed and strengthened by an absence of three years. Many youthful worshippers, whose only pilgrimage this was destined to be, approached the metropolis of their people, "the city of the greatest King," with feelings of awe and curiosity, of pious joy and eager devotion. Who among all that crowd had a presentiment of the fate which awaited them? Who foretold that, of all these assembled thousands, few, perhaps none, should return to the homes they had left; that the sword, pestilence, or famine, should be the doom of most of them; while the few survivors—torn to pieces by wild beasts in the arena, amid the laughter and scoffs of their heartless victors, or perishing under the lash and labour of their Roman task-masters—would envy those whom early death had freed from their misery? Yet such was the destiny of these pilgrims—strangers to the crimes of Jerusalem, but involved in her ruin.

The multitudes that flocked to Jerusalem on the passover of the year 70—though not equal to the millions[30] who

[30] According to a computation made by order of Cestius Gallus, from the number of paschal lambs offered, there were present at Jerusalem on the passover of the year 66 not less than two millions five hundred and sixty-six thousand persons. The computation assumes ten partakers to each lamb; but as those who had contracted any defilement could not join in the offering, and as it frequently happened that twenty guests sat down to one lamb, while there were never less than ten, Josephus insists that the number must have been larger, and probably approached three millions. The passover of the year 66 was in no wise distinguished from other festi-

in the flourishing times of Judea had brought their paschal offerings—numbered some hundreds of thousands. Eleazar's men, who held the upper part of the temple-mount with the sanctuary, readily, and without suspicion, admitted the pilgrims who came to offer sacrifice and worship. Jochanan had also thrown open the avenues that led from the city to his portion of the temple-mount; but, ever watchful and enterprising, he caused a large body of his most devoted partisans to mix among the worshippers, and with them gain admission to the upper mount. When they found themselves within the temple-courts, Jochanan's men made a sudden attack on Eleazar's, which the latter were not at all prepared to resist. The pilgrims hastened from the temple, and Eleazar, after a brief but fierce struggle, was forced, with his men, to make submission to Jochanan, and to renew the oath of fidelity to him. Thus the number of commanders in Jerusalem was reduced from three to two, while the accession of strength, both in men and provisions, which Jochanan had obtained by the submission of Eleazar's troops, held out the assurance of success over Simon, who might have attempted to obtain the same advantage over Jochanan which this chief had gained over Eleazar, but had proved either too scrupulous or too indolent to profit by the opportunity. But while these chiefs were eagerly preparing to renew their conflict, the sudden and unexpected advance of the Roman army put an end to their hostilities, and caused them to unite heart and hand in the defence of Jerusalem.

Vespasian no sooner reached Rome, and found himself firmly seated on the throne of the Cæsars, than he prepared to terminate a war which it was no longer his interest to prolong. Eighty thousand combatants assembled under

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vals, and may therefore be considered as a fair criterion of the numbers that generally attended.

the command of Titus, assisted by the most experienced veterans in the Roman army. The siege and battering train, which had been prepared by Vespasian himself, surpassed every thing of the kind that had till then been seen or used at any siege. Whether from accident or designedly, and by the advice of Jewish transfugees, this vast army suddenly advanced against Jerusalem, and completely invested the city during the passover festival, (beginning of April,) thus shutting in the many pilgrims, strangers to the war, who from distant parts had come to worship at the temple, but who now had to take part in the worst horrors of the siege.

Jerusalem was situated on four hills; to the north, that of Bezetha, covered by the suburb of that name, and the quarter of the city called the new town, which, not many years before, had been built by Agrippa I. To the east was situated Mount Moriah, with the temple, and below the hill the suburbs of Ophel. To the south, Mount Sion, or the upper town, formerly called the city of David; and to the west, Mount Acra, or the lower town. The circuit of the city, according to Josephus, was thirty-five stadia, or four miles: according to an older authority, fifty stadia, somewhat less than seven miles. Its fortifications were strong, both by nature and art. Three successive walls surrounded the city; the first, or old wall, was looked upon as impregnable, by reason of its height and solidity, and was defended by sixty towers, lofty, firm, and strong. The second wall had fourteen, and the third, or inmost wall, eighty such towers. In addition to these regular defences, there were several detached citadels or castles of great strength, of which the fortress Antonia was the most considerable. Towering above the city was the temple, a fortress in itself, and equal in strength to any at that time known.

The garrison of regular troops consisted of twenty-four

thousand men—fifteen thousand under Simon, and nine thousand under Jochanan; but this number was occasionally augmented by citizens and pilgrims, who took up arms in defence of the holy temple. This circumstance will explain to us a striking contradiction in the narration of the siege as given by Josephus. Sometimes, we find that the Jews conduct their operations of attack and defence with all the order, discipline, and regularity of combined movements that characterize old soldiers; while, at other times, they rush on tumultuously, with the heedless rage and confusion of a mere mob.

The strength of the fortifications was aided by the war-engines that had been taken from the Romans under Cestius Gallus, and which were placed on the walls. Immense quantities of arrows, javelins, and other missiles had been provided; vast fragments of rock were poised on the walls, so as in their fall to crush the assailants. Boiling hot tar, pitch, oil, and tallow, lighted tow and sulphur, were held in readiness to set fire to the enemy's battering-trains, and to pour a shower of liquid flame on the heads of the troops who advanced to storm the walls. Thick blankets, bales of wool, hides, and rope-matting were placed so as to deaden the force of the battering-ram; while an ingenious machine was contrived to fasten on the movable beam of the ram, and either to pull it up to the wall, or to tear it from its axle-tree and break it. Simon and Jochanan, laying aside all their former animosity, united in opposing the most obstinate resistance to the Romans. Unfortunately for themselves, their reconciliation came too late. The thousands of gallant men that had been slaughtered in their fratricidal conflicts could not be recalled to life. The vast stores of victual that in their mad fury—fomented, probably, by Roman emissaries—they had destroyed, could not be replaced. While toward the Roman assailant Jerusalem presented the aspect of strength and successful re-

sistance, there was an enemy lurking within her walls soon to prove more destructive than the battering-train of Titus; and that enemy, famine, had been invited into doomed Jerusalem[31] by Jochanan; and was soon followed by its offspring, pestilence and anarchy.

Josephus, in order to flatter Vespasian and Titus, invents a miracle, and relates that while the brook Siloah furnished the Romans with an abundant supply of water, the Jews suffered terribly from thirst, as the brook dried up the instant it came within reach of the besieged. (Bell. Jud., lib. v. cap. 9.) But this statement of his is a complete fabrication. Strabo, (lib. xvi.,) when relating the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey, states that the besieged had plenty

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[31] Josephus, as well as the Talmud, abound with presages and omens indicating the destruction of Jerusalem. Of these we will only mention two: A man named Joshua, the son of Ananus, who had come from the country to Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of tabernacles seven years preceding the siege, was suddenly seized with a prophetic inspiration, which caused him to cry out, "Wo to the city! wo to the temple! a voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four corners, against Jerusalem, and against the nation!" This cry he continued unceasingly, running day by day through the streets of Jerusalem, crying more loudly and lamentably on Sabbaths and festivals than at other times, but never getting hoarse or weary. Neither threats nor punishments could make him desist, or wring from him a groan or complaint, or, indeed, induce him to utter any other words than those which composed his dismal cry. At the beginning of the siege, as he was running along crying, "Wo to the city! wo to the temple!" he suddenly added, "Wo also to myself!" and was that same instant struck dead by a stone from a Roman ballista. (Jos. Bell. Jud., lib. vii. cap. 12.) The outer gates of the temple were so heavy, that it was the work of twenty men to open or to close them. Forty years before the destruction, they suddenly, of a night, flew open of their own accord, and could not be closed, until R. Jochanan ben Zachai addressed them, and exclaimed, "Temple! temple! what use is it that thou showest thyself frightened? I know that thy end will be destruction, for long ago Zechariah the son of Iddo (xi. 1) prophesied against thee, and said—'Open thy gates, O Lebanon, that fire may consume thy cedars.'" (Talmud, tr. Yomah, fo. 39.)

of water within the city, while beyond its walls water was very scarce. This is confirmed by Tacitus, (Histor., lib. v. § 12,) who speaks of the inexhaustible springs, the subterranean reservoirs cut under the rock, the pools and cisterns that kept the rain water; all of which rendered Jerusalem one of the best-supplied Eastern cities. Dion Cassius, in a fragment preserved to us, (lib. lxvi. § 4, in Vesp.,) goes even further, and declares "the Romans suffered greatly from thirst; their only supply of water was fœtid, and had to be brought from a great distance: the Jews, on the contrary, were plentifully supplied; their aqueducts were cut in the solid rock, and their pipes were carried under ground to a very considerable distance."

We have been induced to expose this fulsome misstatement of Josephus, because the means of doing so are furnished to us by Roman writers, contemporaries like himself, but not like him influenced by private malice or the wish to glorify the Flavian dynasty at the expense of truth and of Israel. But the falsehood we have exposed is not the only or by any means the most pernicious one in which Josephus indulged. Indeed, his conduct during the siege was ridiculous in itself and degrading to him; while, in its consequences, it proved injurious to the Jews. As soon as the Roman army had taken up its position round Jerusalem, Titus directed Josephus to harangue the garrison and inhabitants, and, if possible, to sow dissensions among them. This mode of proceeding the Romans had already once before employed at Syracuse, a city which, like Jerusalem, tasked the utmost resources of its assailants. There, likewise, transfugees harangued the besieged, telling them "that if they wished to save their lives, they should at once surrender; that the Romans were not come to besiege the city as enemies and from animosity, but that their only motives were pity and good feeling toward the citizens oppressed by Hippocrates and Epicides, whose tyranny the

Romans were intent on destroying; and that the attack of the Romans was caused by no other object." (Tit. Liv., lib. xv. § 28.) Substitute the names of Jochanan and Simon for those of the two emissaries of Hannibal, and the harangues delivered before Syracuse furnish the text of those long-winded orations with which Josephus wearied the patience of the besieged in his own times, and of his readers at all times. On the occasion of his first address, he was attended by Nicanor, a Roman officer, who had negotiated his surrender after the fall of Jotopatha; but his speech was cut short by an arrow from the ramparts, that wounded Nicanor. Indeed it would have been difficult for Titus to select a worse or more obnoxious ambassador than Josephus. The bare sight of the ex-governor was enough to enrage the defenders of Jerusalem; and his addresses invariably were followed by bloodshed as great as might have been caused by a pitched battle. After listening to him for awhile, the Jews, excited beyond all self-control, threw themselves upon the Romans with renewed rage; while all those unfortunate men within the city who were suspected of favouring his views, or of entertaining relations with him, were sacrificed by the rage and indignation of the Zealots.

Josephus was a vain man—vain of his descent, vain of his valour and abilities, vain of his influence with the Flavian dynasty. His vanity as an orator was deeply wounded and mortified by the result produced by his speeches to the besieged. Those who refused to listen to his harangues, and who replied with curses and arrows to his beautiful phrases and elegantly-turned periods, were, in his estimation, the worst, the most brutal of men. He hated Jochanan of Giscala and the dominant party in Jerusalem full as bitterly as they detested him; and his feelings toward the mass of the people, who despised his oratory, were scarcely less rancorous. This hatred of his survived the ruin of his

enemies; and in order at once to apply a salve to his own vanity, and to account for his want of success to his patron and employer, Titus, Josephus gave free scope to his rancour, by describing the Jews of Jerusalem as the most worthless, and their chiefs as the most criminal, of human beings—rebels at once against God and the emperor, cast off by God, and justly punished by the emperor. And in order to make good his statements, he did not hesitate to exaggerate, to invent, to distort, and to gloss over the foul deeds of his patrons, while he magnifies the crimes of his enemies.

This indulgence of revenge satisfied and of selfishness gratified might have been undeserving of further notice than a brief sentence or two of exposure and condemnation, had not Josephus inflicted on his people an injury that outlived him, and to this day hurts them. He wrote against Apion, who calumniated the Jews, and yet his own history is a calumny, all the more telling because he himself was a Jew. The black colours in which he depicts the Jews suited the views of the Dark Ages. The general feeling throughout Europe, and wherever Christianity was dominant, was of itself sufficiently hostile to the Jews, but that hostility was strengthened and supported by the writings of Josephus, the great Jewish historian. Accordingly, monkish writers readily adopted him as an unquestionable authority: he acquired a degree of popularity, founded, not on his own merits, but on the use to which he could be turned against the Jews; and as that popularity yet survives to some extent, we may be sure that the motive has not altogether ceased.

The defence of Jerusalem has called forth the admiration of the great military writer, Chevalier Folard, who, even while he blames Jochanan and Simon for not making the best use of the vast multitudes at their disposal, declares, that "Of all the celebrated cities of ancient times, none is more famous than Jerusalem, not only for the mag-

nificence of its public buildings, but likewise for the number of sieges it had to sustain. Of these the most memorable is the last, when the Romans, under Titus, were the assailants. Whatever is most admirable in the art of war was put in practice during this siege. The courage and constancy of the defence are fully equal to the skill, valour, and perseverance of the attack; and in point of enterprise the besieged are even superior to the besiegers." (Commentaries on Polybius, ii. 310, 314.) The Romans themselves did justice to the patriotism of the Jews, and confessed that the defence of Jerusalem deserves to rank with that of Carthage and of Numantium. But with later writers the defence forfeits its merits because the defenders were Jews. The same spirit which in ancient Numantium or modern Saragossa is glorified as bravery and patriotism, is in Jerusalem vituperated as obstinacy and wickedness. It is true that the Zealots were red-hot fanatics, reckless of life, whether their own or that of others, indifferent to suffering, which they were alike ready to inflict or to endure. But in their fanaticism they were sincere, to their extreme opinions they clung honestly and manfully, and of their sincerity and honesty they gave the strongest proof that could be offered or exacted—they persevered to the end, and died in their mistaken but unfeigned zeal. Ruthless and ferocious as they evidently were, they did not surpass, or even equal, the Romans to whom they were opposed, and whose turpitude bears the same proportion to the wickedness of the Zealots as the immense extent of the Roman Empire does to the diminutive province of Judea. It cannot be denied that as the last century of Roman senatorial domination was the most generally rapacious and grindingly oppressive the world ever saw, until the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards in America, so, likewise, the first century of imperial sway was the most atrociously corrupt, the most unblushing

and inhumanly profligate, that, until the days of the Borgias, (Pope Alexander VI. and his detestable offspring,) the world was ever cursed withal. And yet, when recording the fall of Jerusalem, historians, one and all following in the footsteps of Josephus, overwhelm the perishing and hopeless Jews with the bitterest reproaches for their wickedness, and reserve all their admiration for the *kind-hearted* Titus and his ruffians. One single exception to this general historical outcry we meet with in Schlosser's Universal History: "The Jews defended their capital with a degree of heroism such as but few nations have manifested in their fall. Even the Romans—with whom the consideration of Christianity and its fortunes did not yet exercise any influence as to their judgment of this struggle—admitted that the defence of Jerusalem is entitled to rank with the resistance of Carthage and of Numantium." (Weltgeschichte, vol. iv. p. 250.)

Josephus invariably represents Titus as humane, kind-hearted, and sincerely desirous to save Jerusalem and its misguided people. Tacitus confirms the character of Titus as given by the Jewish historian, and speaks in the very highest terms of Titus' clemency and beneficence as emperor. The Talmud, on the contrary, invariably designates Titus as *Ha-rashang*, (the wicked,) and always speaks of him as supremely proud, cruel, and blasphemous. For doing this the Talmudists have met with abundant reproach. They have been accused of falsely and malignantly painting their enemy as a monster. The testimony of Josephus, of Tacitus, and even of Suetonius, has been triumphantly adduced against them. But notwithstanding the outcry raised against the unfortunate Talmudists, they did not wrong Titus; they described him such as he proved himself during his stay in the East and after his return to Rome, up to the time that he ascended the imperial throne. Suetonius, a contemporary of the Flavian emperors, but

not, like Josephus and Tacitus, biassed by the sense of obligation for favours received, tells us that until his accession to the empire Titus had been vindictive, debauched, cruel, and rapacious. This impartial historian does justice to the change wrought in the emperor's character when mature age had tamed his fierce passions, and a sense of duty awakened his better feelings; but with this change in his character the Talmudists never became acquainted. Had he lived, it is likely that his bitter feelings against the Jews might have relented, so that they, likewise, might have experienced his clemency. In that case the Talmudists would, unquestionably, have recorded the change in his character and in their own opinion. But his short reign of two years did not afford them the opportunity; and that they did not wrong him, is proved by the following extract from a modern writer of deep research and of established veracity: "As prefect of the prætorian guards, and as his father's lieutenant, Titus (on his return to Rome) took an active part in the government, but evinced a degree of rigour truly cruel and despotic. He employed agents, whom he sent into the camps and theatres with directions loudly—and as if it had been the expression of the public voice—to clamour for the punishment of every person obnoxious to him; and the individuals thus denounced Titus caused at once to be put to death. On one occasion he even invited one of these unconscious victims to a banquet, and then caused him to be cut down in the presence of all the guests. The associates who surrounded him were the most wicked of men; he himself evinced extreme rapacity, and publicly indulged in the worst debauchery and sensuality. His entire conduct thus led to the expectation that he would prove a second Nero." (Schlosser, Weltgeschichte, vol. iv. p. 257.) If such was his character in Rome and among his own people, what must it have been in Judea among enemies!

Josephus tells us that Titus was very anxious to save Jerusalem and the temple; and modern historians dilate on "how Titus was driven against his will" to destroy both. (Kitto, i. 756.) We have already shown, in the instance of Artaxata, that it was part of the Roman system to destroy those strongholds and cities which formed national points of concentration and of defence for the power of any country Rome was intent on subduing. We have also related the destruction of Cremona, and shown how little the ferocious legions, in their licentious fury and rapacity, felt inclined to spare an innocent city belonging to their own people, or to respect the temples in which their own gods were worshipped. Now, Jerusalem was the national point of concentration, the chief stronghold of the Jews, and, as such, doomed by the relentless system of Rome. Moreover, Jerusalem was one of the wealthiest cities of Western Asia, its temple reputed even more wealthy than it actually was. The stimulus thus offered to Roman rapacity was much more powerful than at Cremona. Add to all this, that the besieging army was in part composed of the discomfited legions of Cestius Gallus, eager to obliterate their disgrace in the blood of those who had caused it, and that the whole Roman army was exasperated to the utmost against Jerusalem, where an entire legion of their fellow-soldiers had been treacherously massacred. (*Vide* p. 405.) It is certain the power and influence of Titus over his legions, and the degree of discipline he could enforce, were not sufficient to overcome the fury of his troops; for Josephus himself relates that when the besiegers had committed acts of horrid and useless cruelty, and Titus wished to punish the perpetrators, he felt himself powerless before the great number of the offenders.[32] (Bell. Jud., lib. vi. cap. 15.) It

[32] A report was spread that the Jews swallowed their gold. The consequence was, that the prisoners and refugees in the Roman camp were butchered by the soldiers, and two thousand were "ripped up" in one

is therefore quite evident that the Romans would in no case have spared Jerusalem or the temple. The only safety for both was to be found in a successful defence. Jochanan and Simon saw this clearly, and acted accordingly.

It is not our intention to enter into any detail of the military defence of Jerusalem, the high character of which we have already described in the words of that truly competent judge, the Chevalier Folard. (*Vide* p. 479.) The besieged did not wait for the attack, but made frequent, and in part successful, sallies, by which they destroyed the Roman works, and more than once spread consternation among the veteran legions. If due allowance be made for the total disproportion in the resources respectively at the command of Jochanan and Simon, and of Titus, the Jewish chiefs displayed as great military skill, and greater genius, than the Roman general. The well-chosen opportunities and success of their attacks; the dangers they brought upon Titus, personally; the boldness with which these chiefs set fire, with their own hands, to the hostile battering machines; the perseverance and ingeniousness with which they dug mines, causing explosion and combustion under the very engines on which the besiegers relied for the reduction of the obstinate city; the well-directed discharges of arrows and javelins by which the progress of the Roman working parties was so greatly impeded,—all this proves that sound calculations as well as unyielding valour directed the defence.

As the siege proceeded, the emulation grew more strong in both hosts. The hope, by their unparalleled resistance, to tire out the invaders, inspired the Jews, and caused them

night, to come at their supposed treasures. Titus wished to punish these ruffianly butchers, but found them so numerous that he was obliged to content himself with issuing general orders threatening death to the offenders, but which were not attended to.

to endure unheard-of hardships without a murmur; and if their last attempt to destroy the Roman siege-works had been as successful as their previous efforts, Titus would have been compelled to raise the siege. On the other hand, the great wealth which Jerusalem and the temple were known to contain stimulated the Romans, while the desire to bring a dangerous expedition to a successful and speedy conclusion animated Titus and his subordinates to unwonted exertions. Unfortunately for the Jews, there was no hope of succour from without; for though the princes of Adiabene, who shared the toils and dangers of the defence, repeatedly promised help from the Euphrates, the aged king of Parthia, Vologeses, remained true to his Roman alliance, and not only prevented any movement of his vassals in aid of the Jews, but even offered Vespasian forty thousand Parthian auxiliaries—an offer which that emperor did not deem it prudent to accept. (Tacit. Historia, lib. iv. § 52.) The condition of the besieged within the walls of the doomed city, was even more hopeless than their foreign prospects. The vast multitudes shut up in Jerusalem required immense supplies to sustain life. At an early period of the siege the stores of provision that had escaped destruction were seized and reserved for the use of the soldiery, while the resident population, and still more the many strangers, were left a prey to all the horrors of famine. The want of food began to be generally felt as early as the first week in May. The strangers, ravenous like wolves maddened by hunger, broke into the houses of the citizens and robbed them of their scanty stores. Josephus relates that a mother, left without a morsel of bread, and exasperated to madness by these robberies, in the phrensy of hunger, killed her own infant, and devoured part of it. The Talmud (tr. Gittin) also abounds in graphic details of the extreme misery that prevailed in Jerusalem. Gradually the stock of provisions reserved for the soldiery failed;

Jochanan and his men, who garrisoned the temple-mount, were compelled, in order to sustain life, to appropriate to themselves the consecrated wine and oil in the store-rooms of the temple. About the middle of July (the 17th day of the Hebrew month Thamuz) the daily sacrifices ceased. Josephus relates that Titus bitterly upbraided Jochanan for not providing a priest to officiate, and challenged him to come out from the temple and fight it out on some other spot—a proposal which Jochanan treated with scorn. Jochanan and Simon, both sufficiently ruthless by nature, completed the misery of the wretched people of Jerusalem by seizing and putting to death every one who was suspected of a leaning toward Rome. The high-priest Matthias, who had introduced Simon into the city, was executed with three of his sons, because the fourth had sought refuge with Titus. Many other priests and persons of merit met with a similar fate. But amid all the horrors of famine and anarchy the defence never once relaxed; the Jews fought with the energy of despair, and with the firm resolve to die rather than to surrender. After five months of sanguinary combat by night and by day, and with varied success, desolation and despair at length entered the sanctuary of Zion. The tenth day of Ab witnessed the destruction of the second temple, as the ninth of the same month had witnessed that of the first. All fell at once—temple, city, fortress. The sword of the Roman was glutted with slaughter. Let us cast a vail over atrocities so degrading to human nature, and over those worse horrors of which, after the rage of battle had subsided, the Romans became guilty. After the fall of Jerusalem, three strongholds remained in the possession of the Jews; all three successively fell into the hands of the Romans; the last, *Massada*, emulated the example of Numantium, the inhabitants and garrison disdaining to surrender. Above a million and a half of human beings had perished during the

war; the most considerable cities were destroyed, and great part of the country depopulated, while the fertile lands were sold for the benefit of Vespasian's treasury. No people were ever so completely ruined as the Jews; and yet they survived and maintained their importance in the history of the world, so that the destruction of Jerusalem forms but an epoch in their annals.

END OF VOL. II.

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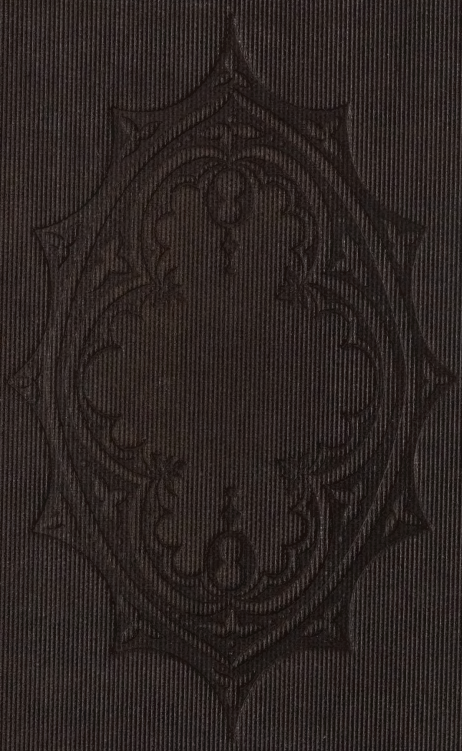
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